

# MINNESOTA HISTORY

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## A BRITISH LEGAL CASE AND OLD GRAND PORTAGE

MANY A STUDENT of history has found legal documents useful. For periods for which few records survive, as well as for those of widespread illiteracy, court and notary records assume large importance. Few records exist for events on Minnesota soil before 1820. Yet courts had jurisdiction there and notaries affixed their signatures to documents dealing with persons and events of the area. Records of the earliest court case involving a Minnesota event to be discovered thus far for the British regime are in Edinburgh and Montreal.

The most complete record of this case, that of Dominique Rousseau and Joseph Bailly v. Duncan McGillivray, is preserved in the papers of Lord Strathcona in the General Register House in Edinburgh, Scotland. The documents may be the notes taken by a member of the Northwest Company at the trial of the case in Montreal in 1802, 1803, and 1804 or merely abbreviated copies of the official records of the case in Montreal. Whereas the depositions of fourteen persons are given in the records in Edinburgh, only seven are included in the dossier of the case in Montreal. Why this should be so is beyond the editor's ability to explain. Possibly some parts of the records in Montreal have been lost. In the following report of the case, the editor has used the Edinburgh documents, unless otherwise indicated.

The importance of the case lies in the historical information given by the various witnesses, especially with regard to the period when Grand Portage was cleared of its forest

growth, when the several forts were built, who built them and where, and facts about the location of gates, canoe beaches, and so forth. Until these documents were found, no one could venture even a good guess as to who cleared the ground at Grand Portage and who built the first fort. Now some facts are given outright, some are hinted, and many can be inferred.

They have another use. In America as in England, common law develops through precedent. All too little has been known heretofore about common usage on portages. Again and again in these testimonies usage with regard to portages is set forth. Later the verdict of the court confirmed this usage and thus made it law. Here, then, is law in the making—a very interesting process.

It is possible that it was this case, involving an American license to trade at Grand Portage in accordance with Jay's treaty, that determined, or helped to determine the Northwest Company to remove well within British territory at Fort William. If so, here is another important fact gleaned from this old court case.

The facts of the case and the chief personalities involved are as follows. In 1802, during the period of struggle between the Northwest Company and its offshoot and rival, the X Y Company, Dominique Rousseau and Joseph Bailly of Mackinac sent a canoeload of goods with an American license under the direction of Paul Hervieux to Grand Portage.<sup>1</sup> He and his men arrived at that place during the

<sup>1</sup>Rousseau is mentioned in the "Register of Baptisms of the Mission of St. Ignace de Michilimakinak" as the father of two children born in 1821. His residence at that time, therefore, appears to have been Mackinac, although he lived earlier at Montreal. See the "Mackinac Register," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:136 (1910); and Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, *Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America*, 56 (London, 1816). Bailly was a member of an ancient French family of Canada, the Bailly de Messein family. He was born in Quebec in 1774 and entered the fur trade as a young man. Like Rousseau, he made Mackinac his center of operations, with posts in a large, outlying area, extending as far northwest as Grand Portage and as far south as the Wabash country. Later he made his home in Indiana. He was

second week of July and set up tents near the creek east of the Northwest Company's fort and close to the shore, between the so-called "Big Fort" and the "Little Fort." The latter, called also "Boucher's Fort," lay east of the Northwest Company's establishment, beyond the creek and near the shore.<sup>2</sup>

No sooner were the tents set up than trouble developed. In highhanded fashion bourgeois—men who had capital invested in the company's fur ventures—from the larger of the two forts demanded that Hervieux remove his tents from the portage way and refrain from trading with their men, mutilated tents and injured goods of the newcomers, abused them with scurrilous language, and otherwise acted the role of monopolists who felt secure because of their capital, prestige, and superiority of numbers.

But the Northwest Company unexpectedly came up against resistance. A case was brought in the Court of King's Bench in Montreal against Duncan McGillivray of the Northwest Company.<sup>3</sup> Men who had traveled the arduous canoe route from Montreal to Grand Portage throughout the period of British dominance in Canada testified, mostly in behalf of the plaintiffs. One witness had been at Grand Portage in 1766. What he and others told of customs of bourgeois, clerks, voyageurs, and others affords some of the best material yet available on obscure points in fur-trade history. For example, the affidavits show that probably John Askin cleared the site of the Northwest Company's post at Grand Portage

the father of Alexis Bailly, a prominent trader in the Minnesota country. See John O. Bowers, *The Old Bailly Homestead*, 1 (Gary, Indiana, 1922). Bailly's ledger, kept at the time of the lawsuit, is mentioned on page 3 of this work. For information on Hervieux, see *post*, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup>The Boucher here mentioned may have been François Boucher. See Charles Gates, ed., *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest*, 260 (Minneapolis, 1933).

<sup>3</sup>McGillivray was a brother of William and of Simon McGillivray and a nephew of Simon McTavish "and was himself the acknowledged agent of the company, in which capacity he took the lead in all the proceedings at the general meeting of the wintering partners." Selkirk, *British Fur Trade*, 61.

soon after 1766; that several forts had occupied the shore line close to the Grand Portage in the years between 1766 and 1803; that there were several free-lance, or apparently free-lance, traders at Grand Portage between 1794 and 1802, some of whom constructed houses; that a peculiar kind of currency, "bons," prevailed at the depot; that voyageurs and other *engagés* did some trading of furs on their own accounts, and that customs had crystalized by 1802 into what practically all traders and *engagés* considered effective laws for portaging, trading, competing in the fur business, and the like.

The court decided in favor of the men with the American license. Some nice legal points might be raised over the right of a Montreal court to exercise jurisdiction in an event that occurred at Grand Portage, especially in view of the fact that the plaintiffs were operating under an American license. However, the boundary line had not been conclusively determined in 1804 and no one appears to have challenged the court's right to adjudicate the case. Indeed, one of the plaintiffs, Rousseau, made another attempt to trade at Grand Portage in 1806, after the Northwest Company had decided to remove its post from Grand Portage to uncontestedly British soil at Fort William; and when the Northwest Company again beset him he brought another suit in the Montreal courts.<sup>4</sup> This time, however, a compromise was effected out of court. It is interesting to note that the method adopted by the Northwest Company to keep Rousseau's canoe out of the hinterland beyond Grand Portage was to fell trees across the portages and narrow creeks of the old canoe route.<sup>5</sup> These obstacles prevented

<sup>4</sup>An account of this episode is given in Selkirk, *British Fur Trade*, 59-61.

<sup>5</sup>Rousseau sent a man named De Lorme west of Grand Portage in 1806. In the "Arrangement of Departments for 1806" of the Northwest Company, the following list of men is given under the caption "to Watch De Lorme": Alexander McKay, "Prop.," J. C. Sayer, clerk, "Ant: Vallé" and Joseph Laverdiere, guides. See William S. Wallace,



others, too, from using the route. Thus ended the old trade way from Grand Portage to Lac la Croix, a route that had been utilized since La Vérendrye's day. At Lac la Croix the Northwest Company's new route from Fort William joined the long-established route, and so no obstacles were placed beyond that point. The Fort William-Lac la Croix-Rainy Lake canoe route became the usual one after 1806, presumably because of the difficulty of removing the fallen trees.

Photostatic copies of the documents in the Strathcona Papers relating to this case were available to the editor in preparing these records for publication. For the Montreal documents, however, typewritten copies only could be obtained. For the sake of clarity, in a few instances punctuation has been supplied by the editor. Many of the witnesses in the case testified in French; the translations of their depositions presented herewith have been made by the editor.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

DOMINIQUE ROUSSEAU AND JOSEPH BAILLY  
V. DUNCAN MCGILLIVRAY

[Court of King's Bench, Register of Common Pleas, Superior Term, 1800-03, in Archives of the Judiciary District of Montreal.]

Thursday 7th October 1802 . . . Dominique Rousseau and Joseph Bailly, Plaintiffs vs Duncan McGillevraye, Defendant

The Court having heard the parties by their Counsel upon the defendant's plea of abatement. It is considered that so much of the declaration of the Plaintiffs as charges the defendant with having committed an assault upon the Plaintiffs be quashed with costs; and that the defendant do answer to the other part of the said declaration in the due course of proceeding.

No. 94. King's Bench, Montreal, vacation after Ap: Term 1803 ed., *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 221 (Toronto, 1934).

Exception to the issuing of Com: Rog: for the Examination of Arch<sup>d</sup> N. McLeod & John Finlay<sup>6</sup>

Domi. Rousseau & J. Bailly, Pltffs vs Dun. McGillivray, Def.  
 • filed 13th May 1803 D. R.

Ross atty for pltffs . . .

In consequence of a notice sent to me by the Defendant's Attorney, to attend at the office of the Court at the issuing of a Commission Rogatoire for the examination of Archibald Norman McLeod and John Findlay [*sic*] as witnesses on the part of the Defendant. I do attend and for and on behalf of the plaintiffs object to the issuing of the said Commission Rogatoire as irregular and object and except to the examination of the said Archibald Norman McLeod and John Finlay as they are the Defendant's partners and interested in the present suit — The plaintiffs hereby reserving to themselves the right of proving and supporting this their Exception when and where it may be incumbent on them to do so: of all which they pray act and that the present exception may be filed in the record of this Cause.

(Signed) DVD Ross Atty for Pltffs

13 May 1803

# ROUSSEAU AND BAILLY V. MCGILLIVRAY

[Strathcona Papers, General Register House, Edinburgh, Scotland.]

District of Montreal, Court of King's Bench, Vacation after the February Term, 1803

Dominique Rousseau & Joseph Bailly v<sup>s</sup> Duncan McGillivray

## TESTIMONY OF PAUL HARVIEUX<sup>7</sup>

[Translation]

Paul Harvieux deposes that last spring he was employed as clerk by Dominique Rousseau and Joseph Bailly to take merchandise to

<sup>6</sup> McLeod is mentioned frequently in the affidavits of this case. For an account of him and for his diary of 1800-01, see Gates, *Five Fur Traders*, 123-185. Finlay was probably one of the anonymous bourgeois mentioned in the affidavits. For a sketch of his career, see Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 440.

<sup>7</sup> The Montreal version of this document gives the following information in French: "Paul Hervieux, living at Repentigny, 28 years of age, a witness for the plaintiffs, having been duly sworn, says that he is neither a relative of, related by marriage to, nor in the service of any of the parties to this suit nor to any one affected by it."

Grand Portage; that he left Mackinac for Grand Portage with a canoeful of goods valued between twenty-five hundred and three thousand louis; that he reached the Portage about the 10th or 12th of July; that on arrival he camped overnight on an island in front of Grand Portage; that on the morning of the following day, about eight o'clock, he camped at a little distance from the river, in an unoccupied space; that he set up three tents, wherein he put his goods; that the same day the defendant and M<sup>r</sup> McTavish came to the deponent's tent;<sup>8</sup> that they addressed themselves to a man named Rastoute saying "Is that you, Rastoute? Who gave you permission to set up your tents here? I order you to withdraw farther than the little fort," said the defendant. That the deponent went to find the defendant and asked him if he had any right to prevent his stopping in that spot; that the defendant replied that he was the one who had cleared that ground and that he did not want the deponent there. Whereupon the deponent took from his wallet the license that the Americans had given him to go to that place and showed it to the defendant. Then the defendant said that he had no interest in the paper—that it amounted to nothing. Whereupon the deponent said he would see about that and returned to his tent. That about two hours later the deponent returned to the fort to find the defendant and asked him to kindly explain what right he had to expel him from that place; that the said defendant repeated the same thing and told him he could withdraw a gunshot from the place where he was located. Whereupon the deponent told him he would already have done so if he had not feared blocking the public passageway, but if the defendant wished to give a day's time, he would move his tents. Then the said defendant told him not to trade. The deponent then returned to his tents and set his men to work moving the tents and packs of goods to the spot he had agreed upon with the defendant; that while he was thus occupied, one of the men came to find him and told him that the tent he had sold that morning to a man named Durand, one of the defendant's men, was being cut up by the defendant; that he, the deponent, then stepped out of his tent and saw in truth the said tent cut to bits and on fire; that Durand complained bitterly that he had been deprived of his tent and that it was being carried off on the end of

<sup>8</sup> Probably this was the most prominent of the numerous McTavishes in the fur trade, Simon McTavish. See a sketch of his career in Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 485, 486.

sticks; that a moment later he saw the defendant and Mr. McLeod step out of the fort accompanied by both bourgeois and clerks, who advanced toward his tent; that the defendant came to the deponent, saying to him, "You asked me what right I had to expel you from this place? I will tell you." He grasped his hunting knife and with it pierced the tent, which resisted the first blow; but the second stroke pierced the tent and tore off a piece of some length; that the defendant was by that time in a great rage and left without further remarks; that then Mr. McLeod, a bourgeois, said to the deponent, "*Sacré Gueux*, pick up your goods & chattels and hurry up!" He then tore up the pins of the tent, which had fallen, and seized a bale of goods and threw it into the air, and repeated "Hurry up and move your goods." He then advanced threateningly toward the deponent, saying "*Sacré petit noir*, if you were at Rat Portage you would see what I would do to you."<sup>9</sup> Thereupon the deponent asked, "What else would you do? You could not offer me a greater insult than you have already done." "You will see, *sacré Gueux*," repeated the said McLeod. "Tell me," said the deponent. "I would break your neck." Whereupon the deponent offered him his neck, telling him to do so. Thereupon the said McLeod said to him, "Is it your damned *chevalier* who tells you to do this? Go find him."<sup>10</sup> That the deponent told him that he was clerk for Messrs. Rousseau and Bailly; that he was there on their business; and that if he wished him to leave that place to be so good as to put it down in writing to show to his bourgeois. Then the said McLeod said that he would not give him such a writing. Then the deponent took the rest of his goods and carried them to the place where he had put the other pieces; that the *engagés* of the defendant and his associates told the deponent that their bourgeois had prohibited them from going to buy of him, that if they did so, they ran the risk of losing their wages; that the said *engagés* of the defendant came only at night by stealth and sometimes during the day when they could conceal themselves; that he was much

<sup>9</sup> Rat Portage was the carrying place between Lake of the Woods and Winnipeg River, just beyond American territory on the regular canoe route. The inference intended was doubtless that Hervieux, on British territory, might be manhandled with impunity, whereas discretion had better be exercised on American soil.

<sup>10</sup> The title "Sir" is translated into French by "Chevalier." Probably the reference is to Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the leader in the X Y Company, rival of the Northwest Company at the moment.

injured in his trade with the defendant's men; that the manner in which he had been treated by the defendant had discredited him greatly in that place; that if he had not been interfered with or prevented from trading, he would have disposed of the larger part of his merchandise; that he was obliged to carry most of it back to Mackinac; that the canoeful of goods cost more than eight hundred and forty louis, and the expense [to *Grand Portage*] about 166 louis, and that if the goods had been sold he could have had a sum of twenty-five hundred to three thousand louis; that he had realized only about five hundred louis; that he had disposed of about a fourth of his merchandise; that if he had not been hindered in his business, he could have sold the rest of his goods at the same rate and realized the said sum of twenty-five hundred to three thousand louis.

Cross-examined

That the morning of his arrival at that place no one had stopped him; that the goods were partly dry and partly liquid; that he had sold some things before he was told to get out; that the morning he arrived he had unpacked some merchandise on arrival and that he had not unpacked any afterward that day in that place; that in the place where he settled there were tents of the defendant's men close to the spot where he was, that the defendant's canoes from Montreal were on the beach at a little distance, perhaps a quarter arpent, from his location;<sup>11</sup> that he does not recall that anyone told him to withdraw from this place, because the *engagés* of the defendant were accustomed to put up their tents there; that this ground where he was was cleared; that when he settled there he saw there some tents of the defendant's men and that some others were set up there afterward; that the place where he agreed to go was about a gunshot from his first site at Grand Portage; and that the spot was pointed out to him where a man named Boucher lived selling the same kind of goods as himself; that, in the spot where the tents were, he was the only one selling merchandise; that when he settled in that place he said to the *engagés* that he had the permission of the Americans to go and trade there.

Question. Whether he told the defendant's men that he had come there for the purpose of releasing them from their slavery?

Answer. That he does not remember doing so; that he told them

<sup>11</sup> The arpent measures about eleven and a half rods; thus the canoes were about fifty feet away.

that he would sell them goods cheaper than the others; that when the defendant came to pierce his tent with his hunting knife that the larger part of the goods had already been moved to the spot agreed upon, where he remained afterward; that when he had this conversation with Mr. McLeod, the defendant was not present and that he did not see the defendant; that the defendant did him no other injury than to tear his tent and spoil his trade by preventing his men from trading in the deponent's tent; that it was the *engagés* who told him that the defendant told them not to go to the deponent's tent; that when he moved to the designated place, he continued his trade; that they said nothing more to him, but that he could see that the gentlemen watched their men very closely; that he was at the end of the fort of the man called Boucher, about ten feet from the edge of the water on a level with the house of the said Boucher; that in Boucher's house he saw little merchandise and that he sold Boucher some; that about five or six arpents away was a man named Mailloux,<sup>12</sup> who sold goods; that the deponent promised the defendant to move from the spot where he first settled and not to sell goods there and that the tent which he sold to the said Durand had been sold in the morning; that he did not sell other goods in that spot where he first was, after having agreed with the defendant to move farther; that he had made that agreement with the defendant about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning and that his tent had been destroyed about two o'clock; that he was not accustomed to trading in the *pays d'en haut*,<sup>13</sup> never having been there before; that he does not recall how many pieces he had in his canoe; that he thinks that the reason the defendant cut his tent was the fact that he, the deponent, had sold a tent to Durand.

Upon questioning by the Court: that he may have stayed a month at Grand Portage after his tent was destroyed in the manner described, and that he continued to trade there during that time under the conditions mentioned; that he did not have orders to remain for the winter in this place, but only so long as he could do business with the

<sup>12</sup> François Victor Malhiot may be the trader mentioned as Mailloux, though a diary kept at the Rainy Lake post in 1804 mentions a man named Mailloux several times. Gates, *Five Fur Traders*, 206-226, 137 n.; Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 486.

<sup>13</sup> This voyageur expression means the "upper country" or the interior of the country, usually with the added significance of the region where furs were sought.

*engagés* before they left for their wintering grounds; that he had in his canoe about seven men; that Mr. McLeod, of whom he spoke, is the one called *Le Noir* [*the black*] in order to distinguish him, apparently, from the other McLeods; and that he thinks McLeod is still in the *pays d'en haut*.

(Signed) P HARVIEUX

TESTIMONY OF MICHEL ROBICHAUX<sup>14</sup>

[*Translation*]

Michel Robichaux, voyageur, deposes and says that he left Michilimackinac last spring in a canoe belonging to the plaintiffs, in which were Paul Harvieux, clerk of the plaintiffs, and merchandise belonging to the plaintiffs; that the deponent betook himself to Grand Portage with the said canoe; that upon their arrival they camped for the night in an island in front of Grand Portage and that the following day they went on to Grand Portage and camped in a certain unoccupied spot upon the shore; that he thinks it was at the beginning of July that they arrived at Grand Portage where they erected two tents and immediately afterward Mr. Hervieux, the clerk, began to sell goods and the same morning sold a tent to a man named Durand. That after he had sold the tent Mr. McGillivray came to tell them it was necessary for them to withdraw a gunshot from the place where they were camped. That the deponent heard Mr. McGillivray say, afterwards, that he would show Mr. Hervieux the right that he had to make him withdraw from there, and as he said so Mr. McGillivray drew his hunting knife and pierced the said Hervieux' tent with it. That he did not cut clear through the first time, but the second time he pierced it. That at that time there was a man named McLeod with Mr. McGillivray, as well as several bourgeois and clerks. That the said McLeod pulled up the tent pins of the said tent and overturned it, saying to Mr. Hervieux in a menacing tone to get out quickly, and that if he had him at Rat Portage he would break his neck. That the said tent was torn to bits, burned and carried on the

<sup>14</sup>The Montreal document includes the following statement in French: "Michel Robichaux, voyageur, a resident of Montreal, 25 years of age, a witness for the plaintiffs, having been duly sworn, testifies that he is neither a relative of, related by marriage to, nor in the service of any of the parties to this suit and has replied to the questions put to him as follows."

ends of sticks by a Negro of the defendant's.<sup>15</sup> That because of this threat the said Hervieux was obliged to change his location and transported his goods the same day the distance of an arpent and a half, or about that distance, from the spot where he had camped. That after the tent had been destroyed and a part of the merchandise had been transported, the deponent saw the said McLeod take a bale belonging to the said clerk, Hervieux, in his arms and scatter it to the breezes. That because of the threats that the defendant made at that time to the said Hervieux and the attitude of the said McLeod and the other employes of the defendant, the said Hervieux has suffered damage through the discredit that he has undergone in his trade and because the defendant's *engagés* told the deponent that they were prohibited from trading with the said Hervieux under pain of losing their wages. That the said Hervieux was so much thwarted in his trade there by the deeds that the deponent has just recited that the deponent thinks that he could not openly carry on trade with the defendant's men in the daytime but only secretly at night. That the deponent himself even went to look for furs in the tents of the defendant's *engagés* by night. That the said Hervieux sold only about a quarter of his goods. That the deponent thinks that if the said Hervieux had not been molested, he would have sold all his goods and that the men of the defendant had told the deponent as much. That the said Hervieux was obliged to take back the remainder of the merchandise to Michilimakinac.

Cross-examined by the Defendant

Says that he knows the defendant; that the spot where the said Hervieux was was not surrounded by the tents of the defendant but that there were several of them about fifty feet behind. That there were some canoes that had arrived from Montreal overturned on the shore in front, where the men were camped, but he does not know the number either of the canoes or of the men; that he does not know whether there were ten of them or not; that the said canoes were about twenty feet from the spot where the said Hervieux camped at first. That the said Hervieux had unpacked a part of his goods that day, before Mr. McGillivray came to warn him to leave; that upon the arrival of the said Hervieux at Grand Portage, he passed between

<sup>15</sup> The Negro was probably a member of the Bonga family, prominent in western Canada, and especially in Minnesota history. A brief sketch of the family is to be found *ante*, 3:197 n.



the canoes of the defendant in order to reach the spot where he camped. That when Mr. McGillivray first came to talk to the said Hervieux, the latter agreed to withdraw from the spot to the distance of about an arpent or an arpent and a half. That the tents that were in back of the place where the said Hervieux first camped belonged to the defendant and were occupied by his men. That the canoe of the said Hervieux was paddled by five men besides himself and another clerk. That he does not recall the number of pieces with which the canoe was loaded. That he believes that it contained about 45 pieces. That it must have required two hours' time to transport the said load from the spot where Mr. Hervieux camped the first time to the place where he went later. That there was a man named Boucher who sold goods in this latter spot, about sixty feet from the said Hervieux. That Mr. Hervieux continued his trade in the place last mentioned, until he left Grand Portage at the end of a month after he got established there and at the time when the voyageurs left for their wintering grounds.

Question: What were the threats that the defendant made to the said Hervieux?

Answer: That the threats were made because the defendant drew his hunting knife and pierced the tent when Mr. Hervieux asked for his right to make him leave the place where he was camped; that he heard no others. That Mr. McGillivray was not present when the conversation took place between Mr. McLeod and the said Hervieux. That the deponent did not see Mr. McGillivray enter the tent of the said Hervieux afterward, to prevent him from trading. That the said Hervieux did trade with the men of Mr. Forsyth and the other bourgeois in plain day.<sup>16</sup> That there was a man named Mailloux who sold goods at that time at Grand Portage. That Mr. Hervieux did not sell any merchandise that particular day to the knowledge of the deponent, after Mr. McGillivray came to prevent him. That the furs that the *engagés* of the defendant traded with the said Hervieux by night consisted of moose skins and dressed buffalo robes. He also said that he had not been to Grand Portage before.

The deponent declares that he does not know how to sign.

<sup>16</sup> Doubtless the reference is to Thomas Forsyth of the firm of Forsyth, Richardson and Company of Montreal. This firm was prominent in the affairs of the X Y Company.

TESTIMONY OF FRANÇOIS ROSSIGNOL<sup>17</sup>

## [Translation]

François Rossignol deposes that he knows the parties in this case, that he is a voyageur, and that last summer he was in the employ of the defendant and his associates to go to Grand Portage; that he was there last summer and that there were many *engagés* there; that they had a quantity of buffalo robes and elk skins and that they had permission to trade; that he knew that there was at Grand Portage a man named Paul Hervieux, who had some goods of the plaintiffs for trade with the *engagés* at Grand Portage; that he knew that a man named Durand had bought a tent of the Sieur Paul Hervieux, and that he heard it said that this tent had been cut in pieces by the defendant; that he had learned this at the payment; that he was told also that the *engagés* had been prohibited from trading with the said Hervieux and that the *engagés* feared that their purchases would suffer the same fate as Durand's tent and so they dared not do any business. That as for himself, the deponent, if he had had any skins to trade, would not have dared sell them; that he believes that because of the great number of men that were there and the great number of skins that they had, the said Hervieux would have sold a much greater part of the goods, if the *engagés* had not had this fear of trading; that what happened to the said Hervieux in the way of having his tent cut and torn up had discredited him in his trade and in his honor and had caused him wrong and injury.

## Cross-examined

That the *engagés* of the North West Company are not prohibited by their engagements from trading with strangers and that they trade freely to his knowledge with strangers; that he is engaged this year by the same bourgeois.

The deponent, after his deposition was read, declared that he did not know how to sign.

<sup>17</sup> The Montreal document gives the following information in French: "François Rossignol, living at St. Martin, 30 years of age, a witness for the plaintiffs, having been duly sworn, says that he is neither a relative of, related by marriage to, nor in the service of any of the parties, nor affected by this suit." At the end of the Montreal version are statements that this witness was allowed twelve shillings, six pence; that his affirmation was made in court on March 28, 1803; that J. Reid was the prothonotary; and that the document was filed on March 28, 1803.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES LEGER<sup>18</sup>

## [Translation]

Charles Leger, called Parisien, deposes and says that for thirty years he has been a guide to Grand Portage; that he has been many times in that place as guide; that he is well acquainted with the customs of that place; that during that time he has always seen the *engagés* trade buffalo robes and elk skins and other coarse skins, but not fine furs, and that they could deal with all the individuals that came to trade in that place; that a cotton shirt sold for twelve francs at Grand Portage, one that was worth four piasters in Canada; a phial of rum of three *demiarres* for four piasters of this country; one can buy a cotton shirt in this country for from seven livres ten sols to eight francs for the dearest; a phial of rum is worth in this country from thirty to thirty-six sols, also in proportion for all other articles that are carried into that place for trade; that it is his opinion that a part of the goods bought in this country for a thousand louis would give a profit in trade in the *pays d'en haut* of about twenty-five hundred louis; that according to his knowledge of *engagés* and their customs he thinks that a trader whose tent had been cut and pulled up and who had been obliged to change his location would be discredited, his trade would be damaged, and he would be injured.

## Cross-examined

That he has not been at Grand Portage the past year, but he was there the preceding year; that he has never traded; that he does not know the value of a canoeful of goods at Grand Portage; that he does not know how to read or write.

The deponent, after his deposition was read him, said that it is the truth and so maintains.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH POISSANT<sup>19</sup>

## [Translation]

Joseph Poissant deposes and says that he was at Grand Portage

<sup>18</sup> The Montreal document gives the following information in French: "Charles Leger, called Parisien, a resident of Isle Perrault, 56 years of age, a witness for the plaintiffs, having been duly sworn, says that he is neither a relative of, related by marriage to, nor in the service of any of the parties, nor affected by this suit."

<sup>19</sup> The Montreal document gives the following information in French: "Joseph Poissant, a voyageur living at St. Philippe, 21 years of age, a witness for the plaintiffs, being duly sworn, says that he is neither a

last summer in the capacity of *engagé* of Mr. Ogilvy.<sup>20</sup> That he saw there a man named Paul Hervieux, who had a canoe of goods for trading on the account of the plaintiffs; that the said Hervieux upon his arrival at Grand Portage camped upon the shore between the fort of the Big Company and that of Mr. Boucher, in an unoccupied place. That the deponent, having arrived at the tent which the said Hervieux had just set up, saw Mr. McLeod piercing the said tent and pushing it over. That many people were about but he did not see Mr. McGillivray there. That he saw the said McLeod take a bale belonging to Mr. Hervieux and throw it into the air. That the said McLeod menaced Mr. Hervieux, saying to him, "*Mon sacré petit noire*, who gave you permission to settle here? If I had you at the other end of Rat Portage I would break your neck." That he knows that a man named Durand bought a tent of Mr. Hervieux the same morning. That he saw this same tent overset by the *engagés* of the Big Company and that some of the bourgeois of the said company who were present at the time aided in demolishing the said tent; that they threw it into the fire and afterward lifted it up on the ends of sticks while it was still burning, uttering cries of joy. That the deponent is of the opinion that such actions injured Mr. Hervieux in his trade for the reason that persons who traded with him feared that their purchases would be treated in the same fashion as the tent.

Cross-examined

Says that there were tents of the Big Company set up on the spot where Mr. Hervieux first erected his at the distance of some twenty to fifty feet, and others farther off. That Mr. Hervieux' tent was placed between the big fort and Fort Boucher. That Durand's tent was demolished before Mr. Hervieux. That the place where the said Hervieux placed his tent the first time was about an arpent and a half distant from that to which he withdrew afterward, and that this last place was as advantageous for his trade as the one he had left. The deponent declares that he does not know how to sign.

relative of, related by marriage to, nor in the service of any of the parties, nor affected by this case." At the end of the document is a notation showing that this witness was allowed fifteen shillings, and a statement in English that he was "Sworn and examined in open Court this 21 March 1803."

<sup>20</sup> John Ogilvy was another chief partner in the X Y Company. His firm was known as Parker, Gerrard and Ogilvy. See Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 490.

## TESTIMONY OF THOMAS FORSYTH

Thomas Forsyth Esquire, Deposeth and saith that he was at the Grande Portage last summer in the month of July. That he saw there one Paul Hervieux a Commis or Clerk of the Plaintiffs, who the Deponent understood had some goods to trade on account of the Plaintiffs. That he knows the situation or place near which said Hervieux pitched his tent upon his arrival there, which was upon an open space near the waterside. That from the said report the said Deposant [*sic*] conceives that the circumstance of cutting down said Tent must have done the said Hervieux some damage, and that an insult of that nature must have injured him in his trade in the minds of the people then there.

## Cross examined

says, That there were then Tents pitched between the Northwest Fort and Boucher's Fort at the Grand Portage. That the Deponent understood that the tent first pitched by the said Hervieux was amongst those of the North West Company and between them and Boucher's fort. That Deponent has been informed that that space of ground has been cleared these fifty years past, and that it has been occupied by the tents of the North West Company, but that he conceives that he would have a right to erect a tent there. That when the Deponent saw said Hervieux at the Grand Portage his tent was pitched near to Boucher's fort not more than half an acre from a little River. That he cannot ascertain the exact spot where said Hervieux first pitched his tent, having never seen it, when it [was] first put up. That the North West Company had a great number of men encamped at the Grand Portage last summer, and that he thinks it would have done them an injury if any person had pitched a tent among them for the purpose of selling Rum, that the value of a Canoe load of Goods at the Grand Portage, including the wages of the men and their provisions, is from six hundred to one thousand pounds, Currency. That he does not know whether or not the cutting down the said Hervieux tent, did actually do him a damage but he conceives that an act that may tend to render a man contemptible must do him a damage.

(Signed) THOMAS FORSYTH

TESTIMONY OF MAURICE BLONDEAU <sup>21</sup>

## [Translation]

Maurice Blondeau, Esquire, deposes and says that he has been a merchant voyageur in this country since 1752. That he went up to Grand Portage the first time in 1766. That he knows the fort where the bourgeois were, which was not then cleared and was not cleared for two or three years thereafter and then by a man named Erskine, as he believes.<sup>22</sup> That according to what has been told him, the Big Company occupies at present the same fort that the deponent occupied formerly. That during the time when the deponent voyaged in the *pays d'en haut* he never knew of any hindrance to putting tents at the Grand Portage outside the fort. That on all the portages from here to Grand Portage it was always the custom, while the deponent was voyaging, to put the tents near one another, even though one were a little inconvenienced by giving room to those who arrived later. That he has never understood that one had a right to make anyone else move his tent to another spot. That if a case occurred, it would cause an injury to the person concerned.

## Cross-examined by the Defendant

Says that at the time when he was at Grand Portage, there were at least three or four hundred men there, besides Indians. That if it had happened that anyone settled himself there to sell rum, he believes such a person would have had no trouble, and that as for himself, he would not have opposed him. That in his time there were two or three companies and that there was not the least trouble. That he never prohibited his voyageurs from selling coarse skins like buffalo robes and elk skins, and that he never heard that such selling was prevented by other bourgeois.

(Signed) M<sup>re</sup> BLONDEAU

<sup>21</sup> One of the earliest visitors to Grand Portage after the conquest of Canada was Maurice Blondeau, who was born in Montreal on June 23, 1734. For a brief sketch of his life, see Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 427.

<sup>22</sup> Probably Blondeau refers to John Askin, one of the first traders to go to the West after the conquest, whose family name was also spelled Erskine. Wallace writes that he "was born at Strabane, county Tyrone, Ireland, about 1739, the son of John Askin (or Erskine) and Alice Rea." He went to Mackinac about 1765 after several years as a trader at Albany, New York. His headquarters were removed to Detroit in 1780. *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 425.

TESTIMONY OF HYACINTHE MARCOT<sup>23</sup>

## [Translation]

Hyacinthe Marcot deposes and says that he was at Grand Portage last summer, where he saw Paul Hervieux with a canoeful of goods that he was trading on the account of the plaintiffs, according to what Hervieux told him. That he heard *engagés* and winterers of the defendant and his associates say that they were prohibited by their bourgeois from trading any skins under pain of loss of their wages. That the deponent has wintered for seven years in the North and about Lake Superior and that his bourgeois have never prohibited the trading of buffalo robes and elk skins, and that this trade was allowed to other *engagés* who even had permission to carry these kinds of skins in their bourgeois' canoes to the Portage. When they arrived there it was the custom to sell the furs to anyone. That there were many *engagés* of the Big Company at Grand Portage last summer who had such skins to sell. That the deponent heard it said at Grand Portage that the defendant had cut a tent belonging to the said Hervieux and burned another and that this last had been sold to a man named Durand. That this rumor injured the said Hervieux and humiliated him before the men, who told the deponent that they were no longer going to trade with him, for fear that they would suffer the same treatment. That it is the opinion of the defendant [*deponent?*] that if such a rumor had not been bruited about, the said Hervieux would have traded the greater part of his merchandise.

## Cross-examined by the Defendant

Says that he has been in the service of Messrs. Robertson for eight years.<sup>24</sup> Since the latter sold out to the Big Society, the deponent has entered the service of the Big Company in the North. That it was while he was in the service of Messrs Robertson that he was free to sell his skins. That he has not traded since he entered the service of the Company because he has had no furs and because he shortly

<sup>23</sup> The Montreal document gives the following additional information in French: "Hyacinthe Marcot, voyageur of the Fauxbourg of St. Laurent, 34 years of age, a witness for the plaintiffs, being duly sworn, says that he is neither a relative of, related by marriage to, nor in the service of any of the parties, nor affected by this case."

<sup>24</sup> Possibly William Robertson was one of these gentlemen. See Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 105. See also *post*, n. 26.

came down to Montreal; but that he has watched the *engagés*, when they came out from the interior, sell their furs to the people from Montreal. That he did not see the tent of Mr. Hervieux when it was first set up, but that he had been shown the place. That the men of the defendant had a tent on the same spot, but that there were no other tents in the vicinity. That he did not see the second tent of the said Hervieux, but that he saw a little cabin covered with bark, where his goods were stored, and a little tent where his men lived at a distance of thirty feet from Boucher's fort and about an arpent or an arpent and a half from the place where he had erected his first tent. That while the said Hervieux was established near Fort Boucher, he sold his goods freely to the men of the new company, to some whom the deponent saw; that there were two other men who sold goods to the *engagés*, viz., Mr. Boucher and Mr. Mailloux. The deponent declares that he does not know how to sign.

TESTIMONY OF JEAN BAPTISTE TABEAU <sup>25</sup>

[Translation]

Jean Batiste Tabeau deposes that from the year 1771 until 1798 he voyaged in the *pays d'en haut* around Michilimakanac. That in order to go to the Grand Portage one uses the same route as to Michilimakanac, except that about twenty or twenty-five leagues from Michilimakanac the routes fork and separate. That on all the portages from Montreal to Michilimakanac it was the custom that every voyageur put his tent where he would and that if another came, he had as much right to set up his tent there as the first. That the deponent has never seen that right contested. That as far as he knows from traveling in the *pays d'en haut*, he thinks that a man whose tent had been cut or destroyed would suffer thereby.

Signed J. B<sup>te</sup> TABEAU

<sup>25</sup> Jean Baptiste Tabeau was an important Montreal trader. One of his sons, Pierre Antoine Tabeau, wrote an account of the fur trade on the Missouri River that has been recently translated by Rose Abel Wright and edited for publication by Annie H. Abel (Norman, Oklahoma, 1939). A second son, Jean Baptiste Henri Tabeau, was well known in Montreal fur circles. The elder Jean Baptiste was a member of the Beaver Club in 1787. He made his first trip into the interior in 1770. See Benoit Brouillette, *La pénétration du continent américain par les Canadiens français 1763-1846*, 149 (Montreal, 1939). Of the same family was the first known missionary to the Minnesota country after the conquest, Abbé Pierre Antoine Tabeau.



TESTIMONY OF DANIEL SUTHERLAND<sup>26</sup>

Daniel Sutherland Deposeth and saith That he has been in the habit of trading to the upper Country for these fourteen years past. That he knows the Defendant and some of the Partners in the North West Company. That he was acquainted with the situation of the Fort at the Grand Portage before the Defendant was a Partner in that Company. That the Deponent was a Partner in the former North West Company. That he particularly knows the old fort at the Grand Portage which was occupied by the said North West Company in the year 1801, and as the Deponent has been informed was occupied by them last year. That he also knows the situation of a smaller Fort at a little distance from the former which now goes by the name of Fort Boucher, and the space of ground between them, which space of ground was cleared (*défriché*) when the Deponent first saw it, and appeared to have been so for several years before that time, that during the time the Deponent was a Partner in the North West Company he never did hinder or prevent persons from pitching their tents on that space of ground & on the [space] Between the said two forts. That the Deponent considered that any trader had a right to pitch his tent on the said space of ground on his arrival there, the same being open and not inclosed, that the Deponent has frequently passed over the different Portages between this and the Grand Portage, that it is the Custom of the trade in such communication that the first comer pitches his Tent in the spot he may prefer when vacant, that in these Portages as there is very little space cleared it often happens that when several tents are thereon pitched they touch each other and that even in such cases he never knew the right of Pitching tents to be contested. That from the knowledge which the Deponent has of the Upper Country trade and of the manners of the people, he conceives that the Cutting down of a man's tent would hurt and prejudice him in the minds of the Engagés and people trading to that Country, and that such a Public insult would do him damage.

Cross examined by Defendant

Says that he is a partner in the new North West Company<sup>27</sup> lately

<sup>26</sup> Daniel Sutherland retired as a member of the Northwest Company in 1795. He later became a partner in the XY Company. His wife was Margaret Robertson of Montreal. Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 501.

<sup>27</sup> Probably Sutherland here means that he is a member of the X Y

established in Montreal but that he does not in that capacity conceive that he would be in the least interested in the decision to be given in the present suit by establishing a right that may have heretofore been contested.

That while he was a Partner in the North West Company there was a clause inserted in the articles of agreement of their men in the following words "sans permission de faire aucune traite particulière sous les peines portées par les ordonnances et de perdre leurs gages" [*without leave to carry on trade individually under penalty of the law and with loss of wages*] which clause Deponent believes is inserted in every engagement with the men employed in the trade. That there are not any Courts of Justice established in that Country to the Deponent's knowledge. That notwithstanding said clause the Deponent conceives, that when men have permission from their Employers to bring certain skins such as Buffaloe Robes and Orignal [*elk*] skins in their Canoes from the Wintering grounds to the Grand Portage, they have a right, when at the last mentioned place to trade them as they please, and that this is the custom of the trade, and Deponent has known it to be practised, and allowed to the men as a perquisite although he does not know that this indulgence was generally allowed to all the men. That in some cases it was specially granted by the words "*permission de porter le pacton*," in the agreement. That Deponent conceives that if he had chose to exercise the Prohibitive right mentioned in the articles of agreement of the Engagés he would have had a right to prevent them from carrying on any private trade whatsoever. That Possession in that Country of particular spots has been generally respected, and in such cases it has been usual for the persons in possession of such places to enclose them with pickets. That during the time the Deponent was at the Grand Portage the above mentioned space between the two Forts was always occupied by the tents and the men and by their Canots. That the said space of ground is bounded in front by the lake, on the south West side by the old fort, on the North East by Fort Boucher (belonging to the North West Company as he believes) and in the rear by the woods. That he does not recollect during his residence there that any person came to trade or pitched their Tents at the said spot. That it is Customary Company, though a firm that called itself the "New North West Company" came into being in October, 1798. Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 17.

at Carrying places between Montreal & the Grand Portage to avoid as much as possible mixing the baggage and goods of different persons, and at several of these carrying places there are trading houses established during the Summer. That if the Deponent had a number of men encamped at the Grand Portage he would have thought it would have done him a prejudice if a stranger should have come amongst them for the purpose of selling Rum. Says further that there is a public Road that passes in the open space between the two forts above mentioned to the North side of the Portage, and that a Cart may pass in the said Road from the Beach to the little River, which Road was made, before Deponent went to the Grand Portage, by the former North West Company as Deponent believes. That the value of a Canot load of Goods at the Grand Portage may be worth from five hundred to twelve hundred pounds according to the assortment it may contain.

D. SUTHERLAND

TESTIMONY OF JOHN CHARLES STEWART<sup>28</sup>

for Defendant

John Charles Stewart Deposeeth and saith that he was at the Grand Portage last year, and has been in the habit of going there for some years past. That while there, last summer he was informed of, and shewn the situation where one Hervieux had pitched his Tent on his arrival last summer.

That the said spot, to the Deponent's Knowledge has been occupied for some years past by the men and the Tents of the North West Company, and was so during last summer. That Deponent has never knew any strangers place themselves on that ground for the purpose of Carrying on trade, since he has been in the habit of going there. That Deponent conceives it would not be safe or convenient

<sup>28</sup> The Montreal version gives the following additional information: "John Charles Stuart of Montreal Gentleman aged twenty one years and upwards, a witness produced sworn and examined on the part of the Defend' deposeeth that he is not related nor allied to either of the parties in this firme that he is clerk to the North West Company. That the Defd' is a partner of the House of McTavish Frobish[er] & Co. and that said House have share in the Nort[h] West Company." The cross examination on the Montreal document is signed "J. C. Stewart." For other references to Stewart, see Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 104, 125, 171-173, 176, 182, 186, 188, 190, 193, 195, 202.

for the North West Company to suffer strangers to place themselves on that ground for the purpose of trade or selling liquor. That he is acquainted with the general tenor of the agreement, entered into between the North West Company and their wintering men. That the said agreement[s] are all of the same tenor, and contain the said clauses and restrictions as are mentioned in that now produced by Deponent marked X and have been of the same tenor for several years past. That there are no Courts of Justice in that Country known or established. That the Deponent knows no other means which the traders have to keep their engagés and men in submission that [*sic*] by a strict adherence to the articles of their agreement and by their own personal exertions, which it is necessary should be called forth and used. That the Deponent has always understood that when any of the men brought skins from the Wintering grounds for the purpose of trading on their own private account it was by a special favor of their Bourgeois granted to them by a clause in their contract under the words *port de pactons* and a privilege granted to them.

That although this is Customary, yet the Deponent conceives it is in the power of the Employer to grant it or refuse it as he may think fit. That it is a necessary precaution for the Traders at the Grand Portage to keep their men apart as much as possible, and to prevent persons from giving them Spirituous Liquors. That the Deponent saw the spot where said Hervieux erected his Tent the second time at the Grand Portage, which, in the opinion of the Deponent, was as advantageous for his trade as that where he had first pitched his Tent. That said Hervieux remained there until nearly the Close of the communication, and until the men began to retire that Deponent saw M<sup>r</sup> Mailloux and M<sup>r</sup> Boucher at the Grand Portage last summer who also had goods for sale. That said Boucher had two Canots loads of goods there last summer the usual quantity he takes each year a considerable part of which, at the close of the Communication remained still on hand, and a greater proportion of them remained then unsold than the autumn before. That according to an Inventory of said goods on hand last autumn which Deponent has seen the amount was from six to seven thousand livres. That during the course of last summer the North West Company had sometimes from four to five hundred men at the Grand Portage at one time, who were daily going and coming. That said Mailloux and Boucher have been in

the habit of frequenting the Grand Portage and selling goods there since 1798 or 1799.

That as M<sup>r</sup> Hervieux was concerned in the same kind of business as them the Deponent conceives it was their Interest to oppose M<sup>r</sup> Hervieux's Trade as much as possible. That the Deponent thinks if M<sup>r</sup> Boucher and M<sup>r</sup> Mailloux had not been there last summer M<sup>r</sup> Hervieux would have disposed of all his goods.

Cross examined

Says, that Deponent's knowledge of the quantity of goods which M<sup>r</sup> Boucher had on hand last autumn and the value of them arises from having seen an Inventory thereof which the Deponent has now in his possession. That M<sup>r</sup> John Welles a Clerk of the North West Company assisted in taking that Inventory. That said Boucher is equipped by the North West Company, and his two Canots loads of goods consisted chiefly of liquors. That some of the goods which went up in his Canots belonged to the North West Company. That said Boucher has been in the employ of said Company for some time past. That he saw said Mailloux at the Grand Portage but did not see any of his goods but it was a matter of notariety [*sic*] that he had goods. That the *factons* mentioned in Deponents examination in chief are composed of Buffaloe skins and Elk skins. That such *factons* when brought by the men to the Grand Portage are considered as their private property, which they have a right to dispose of. That he understood that there was a number of the men who brought their *factons* from the wintering grounds last summer, although he does not recollect to have seen any of them but that he knows they generally do so. That he knows the situation where M<sup>r</sup> Hervieux first pitched his Tent and that to which he retired afterwards that it would not take a man above three minutes to walk from the one to the other, and that he thinks that change of situation could not have prevented his selling rum or anything else.

J. C. STEWART

TESTIMONY OF HENRY MCKENZIE <sup>20</sup>

Henry M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie of Montreal maketh oath and saith, That he Deponent was at Michelimakanac last summer where he saw M<sup>r</sup> Rousseau, one of the Plaintiffs who told Deponent in presence of

<sup>20</sup> Henry McKenzie was a younger brother of Roderick McKenzie. His sympathies were with the defendant since he was affiliated with the

other persons, that he was sending a Canoe load of goods to the grand Portage to reduce the prices which the North West Company generally charged there for goods, and that he would continue to do so until he had effected that purpose.

That Deponent went from thence to the Grand Portage where he saw one Hervieux trading on behalf of the Plaintiff; and besides a M<sup>r</sup> Mailloux and one Boucher who were also trading goods of the same kind as those which said Hervieux traded, as Deponent supposes.

That said Boucher was fitted out by the North West Company and took up two Canot loads of goods to the Grand Portage for the purpose of trading there, that the amount of the said goods remaining on hand at the close of the communication, last summer, according to the Inventory thereof which Deponent saw was six thousand six hundred and ninety one livres nineteen sols. That the amount of the goods of said Boucher remaining on hand at the grand Portage the preceeding year at the close of the Communication was fifty nine pounds seventeen shillings and one penny Currency.

That Deponent saw the Canot load of goods belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Mailloux at the Grand Portage last summer. That the above mentioned Boucher & Mailloux were the only traders that had been known at the Grand Portage for two or three years preceeding the last year. That Deponent thinks it was their Interest to oppose the trade of said Hervieux.

That from the year 1794 to 1798, inclusive, previous to M<sup>r</sup> Boucher's going there, one [Joseph] Lecuyer<sup>30</sup> used to trade at that post in the same articles of trade as those carried on by Boucher and Mailloux and to the best of Deponent's knowledge, was the only trader of that description there. That during the trade of the said Lecuyer, his Capital or *outfits* amounted in the five years above mentioned, from four to five thousand pounds, and that his share of the average profits during each of the said years was about one hundred and twelve pounds Cur<sup>r</sup>. That Deponent conceives that a stranger has not the same advantages at the said Post as a person who has been in the Custom of Northwest Company through the firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company, the "directorate" of the Northwest Company. Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 477.

<sup>30</sup> Joseph Lecuyer was one of the witnesses in this case. His evidence appears *post*, p. 146-148.

trading there for several years. That during the time said Lecuyer traded at the Portage the same number of men was there employed by the North West Company as have been since, that period as far as the Depon<sup>t</sup> knows & believes.

Cross examined by Plaintiffs

Says; That he has no personal knowledge of M<sup>r</sup> Lecuyer's trading at the Grand Portage during four of the years above mentioned. That Deponent saw him there for the first time in 1797, but that from the accounts in the Books of M<sup>c</sup>Tavish Frobisher & C<sup>o</sup> it appears that he had traded there from the year 1794 to 1798. That Deponent acquired this knowledge from the Books of M<sup>c</sup>Tavish Frobisher & C<sup>o</sup> which he examined this day. That Deponent cannot say at what rate the goods furnished by M<sup>c</sup>Tavish Frobisher & C<sup>o</sup> to said Lecuyer are charged in their Books. That in one of the years they are charged at 50 P Cent advance upon sterling, but—cannot say in what year; the Deponent means English goods. That he cannot recollect the advance charged upon liquors, but they are generally à *prix fait*. That the part or share which M<sup>r</sup> Lecuyer held in the concerns he carried on at the Grand Portage was one half as far as Deponent can recollect and the other half belonged to the North West Company. That part of M<sup>r</sup> Lecuyer's outsits [*sic*] to the Grand Portage consisted of liquors but cannot say what part. That said Lecuyer while Deponent was at Grande Portage traded these goods with the Engagés and other people. That during the time Deponent was at the Grand Portage in the year 1797, he never saw M<sup>r</sup> Lecuyer receive any skins from the trade he was then carrying on, and that Deponent did not understand that said Lecuyer traded any of the *Pactons* brought by the engagés although he might have done so as the Deponent did not see any of his returns.

Being asked how he Deponent, has so precise a knowledge of the profits made by M<sup>r</sup> Lecuyer during the years before mentioned as he declares he never saw any of Lecuyer's returns? Answers, by the accounts, in which he supposes the returns are mentioned, but that he only looked at the balances and did not examine the accounts. That the outfits of M<sup>r</sup> Boucher are also entered in the Books of M<sup>c</sup>Tavish Frobisher & C<sup>o</sup> the amount of which the Deponent cannot at present tell, nor the profits he may have made during his trade at the Grand Portage, That the Depon<sup>t</sup> came here to swear to M<sup>r</sup>

Lecuyer's accounts, and that he looked at them before he came. That Deponent arrived at the grand Portage in the month of June or July last year but cannot recollect the exact time, but that he arrived there before M<sup>r</sup> Hervieux. That the Deponent when at the grand Portage, felt himself interested for the North West Company his Employers. That Deponent mentioned to many persons the conversation he had with M<sup>r</sup> Rousseau the Plaintiff, while at Michilimakanac and that he has mentioned the same to some of the partners of the N. W. Company.

That the Defendant is one of the agents of the said Company at the Grand Portage.

That Deponent when at the Grand Portage considers himself as under the direction of the said Defendant and of any others of the North West Company. That M<sup>r</sup> Boucher's returns last year consisted of various kinds of skins (but not chiefly of Buffaloe, Robes and Elk skins) and various other things, such as [*blank in MS.*]

That said Boucher traded those skins with the engagés and the freemen of the Grand Portage and beyond it in the interior. That by Freemen the Deponent means men not engaged to the North West Company, nor to any other Company, and men whose engagements with the Company determine on their ar[r]ival at the Grand Portage from the Interior. That the Deponent cannot tell how many freemen of the above discription [*sic*] there might have been at the Grand Portage during the course of last summer. That there might have been a great number for what he knows. That Deponent was at the Grand Portage last summer when the greatest part of the Canots arrived from the Interior. That he saw some of them arrive at the Beach and unload that he does not recollect to have seen any skins in those Canots which commonly go by the name of *Pactons*. That the men who have such skins dispose of them at the option of their Bourgeois, as the Deponent has understood according to their agreement. That the said skins or *Pactons* are considered as the Property of the men, with those restrictions. The Deponent means the men of the North West Company. That the Bourgeois of the North West Company do not sell those *Pactons* at the Portage for the men and Deponent believes that some of the men who do not sell their *Pactons* at the Grand Portage bring them down to Montreal, but he does not know how they dispose of them there.

H. M<sup>c</sup>KINZIE



TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM MUNRO<sup>31</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> Munro maketh oath and saith that he is a Clerk to the said North West Company for these four years last past and resided during that period in the North West or Interior Country. That the Engagés of the said Company are restricted by a particular clause in the articles of their agreement from trading on their own private account at the Grand Portage. That by the word *Pacton* is understood and meant such skins as the men can get in the Interior part of the Country and which consist of Buffaloe and Orignal skins. That the men who make such *pactons* are not permitted to trade them at the Grand Portage without permission of their Employers.

## Cross examined by Plaintiffs

Says that he arrived at the Grand Portage in the month of June last. That he saw one Paul Hervieux in the course of the day that the said Hervieux arrived there. That he saw a Tent which he was informed one Durand had purchased from Hervieux that morning, which Tent had been cut up afterward, but he did not see it Cut up nor when it was burnt, and only saw it after it had been Cut up.

WILLIAM MUNRO

## TESTIMONY OF ANGUS SHAW

Angus Shaw deposeth and saith that he is not related to either of the Plaintiffs in this cause nor interested in the event thereof. That he is Brother in law to Duncan M<sup>c</sup>Gillivray the Defendant and has been so since S<sup>t</sup> Andrew's day last. That he is a Partner in the North West Company and that the Defendant is a partner of the house of M<sup>c</sup>Tavish Frobisher & C<sup>o</sup> and as such has an Interest in the said North West Company.

ANGUS SHAW

## TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER McLEOD

Alexander McLeod maketh oath and saith that he is not related to either of the Plaintiffs in this cause, that he is a partner in the North West Company but not interested in the present cause. That the Defendant Duncan M<sup>c</sup>Gillivray is a Partner in the house of M<sup>c</sup>Tavish Frobisher & C<sup>o</sup> and as such has an Interest in the said North West

<sup>31</sup> For information on William Munro, see Gates, *Five Fur Traders*, 137 n. He was a trader in the upper Red River district.

Company and acted during last summer, as one of the agents of the said North West Company at the Grand Portage.

ALEX. McLEOD

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH LECUYER

[Translation]

Joseph Lecuyer deposes that he was at Grand Portage in the summers of the years from 1794 to 1798 inclusive. That he took with him some goods to trade with the *engagés*; that these goods amounted to about a thousand livres, present value, every year. That the first year he was on his own account as far as Sault Ste. Marie, where he formed a partnership with Mr. D<sup>l</sup> Sutherland, then an agent of the North West Company; and the other years he was outfitted by the said North West Company. That the premium that the said Company charged for their goods was fifty per cent Halifax upon the price sterling for the drygoods. That rum was charged the current price at Montreal, likewise all the other merchandise except the drygoods. That he was the only trading merchant during those three years and the last year. The fourth year he had a neighbor, who traded as he himself did. That he sold these goods for buffalo robes and elk skins; and the larger part he exchanged for *bons* of the bourgeois. That ordinarily he made thirty to forty packs of these kinds of skins every year.

That if these skins had been the sole trade, he would not have made much profit, because they were not selling well at that time. That his chief profit came from the *bons* that he got. That the Company's men could sell these kinds of furs to the deponent without the permission of their bourgeois, because he was in partnership with them; but that they were not allowed to trade with strangers without that permission, and if they had done so, they would not have had permission to bring the furs out from the wintering grounds. That the first year that he was at Grand Portage he lost £13 on his trade; the second he gained £140; the third he gained £172; the fourth he gained £25; and the fifth he gained £172; that the accounts current and the returns of these years are entered in the books of the North West Company and signed by the deponent. That the deponent occupied a little house belonging to the Company at Grand Portage, which was a little distant from the Big Fort. His house was on the same site

as that on which Fort Boucher is now located, according to what he has been told.

Cross-examined by the Defendant

Says that these outfits during the years mentioned consisted of wearing-apparel of all kinds, such as capotes, jackets, and breeches. That he had them made from cloth supplied by the Company, which paid its share of the making. That in addition he had rum, wine, and victuals; but that his outfit consisted mostly of drygoods. That during his trade at the portage the fourth year there came there a man named Chandonnet,<sup>32</sup> who did business during the summer on his own account with a little assortment; that the said Chandonnet got some elk skins, chiefly by secret night-trading; that he made some five or six packs. That the said Chandonnet [*sic*] stayed there at most a month. That the said deponent knows a man named Seraphim Lamare,<sup>33</sup> who was at Grand Portage with the deponent a year as his clerk and the following year was clerk of the said Chandonnet. That at the time that the deponent was at Grand Portage there were some freemen who came out of the North country and brought some packs that they sold to the bourgeois of the Company. That they held auctions sometimes, when the bourgeois bought. That in these packs there were sometimes some beaver and martin skins. That by the *bons* of the bourgeois that he mentioned he refers to the notes of the bourgeois that he received from the men as money for goods and drinks that he sold. That these *bons* were paid like wages to the men, to whom he granted goods. That the deponent believed that he had the right to sell to the *engagés* who came from Montreal as well as to those coming out of the wintering grounds, but that there was little to gain

<sup>32</sup> A Charles Chandonnet was born in Quebec in July, 1763. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:305 n.

<sup>33</sup> La Mar was a clerk in the Fond du Lac department in 1805, according to "lists of men in the various departments of the Northwest Company for 1805." The Minnesota Historical Society has a photostatic copy of the original list in the Masson Papers, McGill University Library, Montreal. This name appears as "Su: La Mar—clerk," in Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 221, where it is included in a list of *engagés* and others employed in 1806 by the Northwest Company in the "Folle Avoine" department, now part of western Wisconsin. This is a misreading of the original manuscript "Minutes of the Northwest Company, June 30, 1801–Feb. 28, 1811," in the Gerrard Papers, Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, Montreal. A photostatic copy of this document, in which the name appears as "Ser. La Mar," is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

from the people from Montreal. That he sold seven or eight louis' worth to these people at best.

Being asked if a comer and goer or a winterer from the interior, who had received wages, could use them to procure necessities, he replied that that depended upon the bourgeois. If the man had need of something, he (the deponent) would advance it to him, if the latter wished, but that he was not obliged to give him money at the portage, nor at any other post, because the wages are paid in Montreal in money. That the accounts of the winterers returning to the interior are regulated at Grand Portage and they are given bills of exchange when they go down to Montreal. He thinks that these men might sell these bills to whomever they will. That the deponent is of the opinion that any merchant voyageur having goods at Grand Portage could sell his goods to any *engagé* at all, if he knew him and wished to take the risk. That the deponent sold goods one year at Grand Portage for five hundred louis. That the second year the deponent was at Grand Portage there were some *engagés* of Mr. Robertson as well as of the North West Company. That he sold nothing to Mr. Robertson's *engagés* except to one individual, whom he risked and lost thereby forty livres. That Mr. Robertson prohibited his *engagés* from selling their robes to others because he bought them himself.

(Signed) JOSEPH LECUYER

### ROUSSEAU AND BAILLY V. MCGILLIVRAY

[Court of King's Bench, Register of Common Pleas, Superior Term, 1803-05, in Archives of the Judiciary District of Montreal.]

Thursday 5<sup>th</sup> April 1804 . . . Dominique Rousseau & Joseph Bailly, merchants and Indian traders, & late co-partners trading under the firm of Rousseau & Bailly, Plaintiffs vs. Duncan McGillivray of Montreal also merchant & Indian trader, one of the House of Mc Tavish-Frobisher & Co., Defendant

The Court having heard the parties by their Counsel, and duly examined the evidence of Record . . .

It is CONSIDERED that the Plaintiffs do recover from the defendant the sum of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS current money of this province, with costs of suit.

## A PIONEER ARTIST ON LAKE SUPERIOR

ON JANUARY 18, 1940, the Brooklyn Museum placed on display the first comprehensive collection ever assembled of the works of Eastman Johnson. Newspapers and periodicals throughout the nation commented on the exhibit in their art columns, and at least one critic expressed surprised delight over a series of Indian sketches made on Lake Superior.<sup>1</sup> Six of the seven pictures in this group were loaned to the Brooklyn Museum for the Johnson exhibit by the St. Louis County Historical Society of Duluth, which has in its collections thirty-two paintings and sketches of Lake Superior scenes and figures by this distinguished American portrait and genre painter.

The story of Johnson's visits to the Head of Lake Superior in 1856 and 1857, when he painted his western pictures, and of the return of most of these pictures to the region of their origin forms an important chapter in the history of Minnesota art. When he made his first excursion to the West, Johnson was a young man of thirty-two who had already experienced a measure of success as a portrait artist and who had enjoyed the advantages of six years of study abroad. In Augusta, Maine, and in Washington and Boston, he had filled orders for numerous portraits in pencil, crayon, and pastel. Among his subjects were such celebrities as Mrs. James Madison, Daniel Webster, and members of the Longfellow family.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For reviews of the Johnson exhibit, see, for example, the *New York Times* of January 21, *Newsweek* for January 22, and the *New Yorker* for February 3, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the biographical material in the present article is drawn from John I. H. Baur, *An American Genre Painter, Eastman Johnson, 1824-1906* (Brooklyn, 1940). This is the most extensive and scholarly life of the artist available. Included in the volume are a catalogue of

In 1849 Johnson went to Europe to study, going first to Düsseldorf, where he enrolled in the Royal Academy and worked in the studio of Emanuel Leutze while the latter was engaged in painting his gigantic "Washington Crossing the Delaware." Later Johnson visited London and spent some years at The Hague. There he became absorbed in a study of the Dutch masters, especially Rembrandt. The American made numerous copies of Rembrandt's work, with such marked success that his friends dubbed him the "American Rembrandt." That Johnson's original canvases of this period "show very strongly the imprint of his studies" of Rembrandt is the opinion of Mr. John I. H. Baur,<sup>3</sup> whose excellent biography of the artist appears with the Brooklyn Museum's catalogue of its recent exhibit.

Fresh from his contact with the Dutch school, Johnson returned to America in the fall of 1855. Sometime in the following summer he went to Superior, Wisconsin, to visit his sister Sarah, who had married William H. Newton, a pioneer settler at the Head of the Lakes. As an associate of a group of Minnesotans that included Daniel A. Robertson, Rensselaer R. Nelson, and Edmund Rice, Newton staked a claim on the site of Superior, and in 1854 he became one of the "Proprietors of Superior," as those who owned shares in the townsite company were called. At Superior, across the bay at Duluth, and along the Minnesota shore of the lake, Johnson saw a raw new land. The Indian title to the North Shore lands had been cleared as recently as 1854, when the Lake Superior Chippewa ceded the region at La Pointe, Wisconsin. Superior was surveyed and platted in the same year, and two years later these operations were repeated at Duluth. At Oneota, now a part of Duluth, there was a sawmill; small settlements elsewhere. The works displayed at the Brooklyn Museum and a "General Catalogue" listing "as many of the paintings and drawings by Eastman Johnson as could be located" in a limited time—a total of 472.

<sup>3</sup> *Eastman Johnson*, 14.

isted also at Portland and Fond du Lac in the same vicinity. Farther up the shore, at Buchanan, near the mouth of the Knife River, at Beaver Bay, and at Grand Portage, there were a few white settlers. Even at Superior, mail was received not oftener than once a week. Lumber, salt fish, and furs were being exported in small quantities; the vast iron resources that were to be poured into the East from the ports at the mouth of the St. Louis River had not yet been discovered.<sup>4</sup> Along the whole North Shore, native Chippewa were still living in large numbers.

There is evidence that it was something more than a desire to see his sister that attracted Johnson to Superior. Land speculation had reached a high point in 1856, and he undoubtedly hoped to profit from investments in the booming town. Certain it is that the artist saw the possibilities of the Chippewa in their native haunts as subjects for his brush. One biographer believes that he "may have been influenced by the novels of Cooper."<sup>5</sup> But it is scarcely necessary to turn to literature to find a motive for Johnson's western venture. A number of American artists—George Catlin, John M. Stanley, J. O. Lewis, Seth Eastman, Henry Lewis, and others—had blazed the trail to the Northwest; and it is likely that Johnson knew Henry Lewis in Düsseldorf, where both were members of the American art colony in 1851.

Johnson must have remained in the West until as late as January, 1857, for a sketch of "Our camp on Kettle River"

<sup>4</sup> Lillian K. Stewart, *A Pioneer of Old Superior*, 112 (Boston, 1930); *A Souvenir of Superior*, 129, 131 (Superior, n. d.); John R. Carey, "History of Duluth, and of St. Louis County, to the Year 1870," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 9: 243-278; Frank Hayes to the *Duluth Free Press*, May 2, 1935. A copy of Hayes's letter was made available by the St. Louis County Historical Society; it is published in the *Free Press* for May 10, 1935. See also John A. Bardon, "Eastman Johnson, Pioneer-Artist," a manuscript sketch in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. It is one of a series by Mr. Bardon on pioneer life in the Lake Superior country.

<sup>5</sup> Baur, *Eastman Johnson*, 15.

bears that date.<sup>6</sup> Here, too, is proof that on his first western trip he saw some of the Minnesota country to the south of Superior. He seems to have entered whole-heartedly into the social life that revolved about the Newton home, the "largest house in town" and a "favorite gathering place." He was "as frolicsome as anybody" present at a Christmas party of 1856. A story that has long been told among members of the Newton family indicates that on one occasion Johnson left a souvenir of an evening's festivities on the walls, which were covered with a gaily flowered paper. On the following day, "Mrs. Newton found portrait sketches of many of the guests adorning the roses on the wall paper."<sup>7</sup>

Johnson established "himself in the woods in a primitive camp studio of his own construction, which was 'everything an artist could desire.'" Mr. John A. Bardon, who was born in Superior in 1863 and spent much of his life there, recalls using this cabin as headquarters for his boyhood hunting trips. He records that it was located on the Pokegama River, a stream that widens into a bay and empties into the St. Louis River west of Superior. The cabin was built of cedar logs, "had a Southern Style, broad fire-place and a wing chair, crane and bake oven," according to Mr. Bardon's description. It was identified for him as Johnson's cabin by Stephen Bonga, who served as the artist's guide and interpreter when he traveled in the North Shore country. Bonga was a member of a family of mixed Indian and Negro blood, prominent in the fur trade of Minnesota and the Northwest. With Johnson he made "trips among

<sup>6</sup>This picture is number 398 in Mr. Baur's catalogue of Johnson's work. See his *Eastman Johnson*, 79. When the catalogue was prepared, the sketch belonged to the late Albert Rosenthal; it has since been acquired by Mr. Albert Duveen of New York, who has presented the Minnesota Historical Society with a photographic reproduction. See Duveen to the writer, March 12, May 25, 1940.

<sup>7</sup>Baur, *Eastman Johnson*, 15; Hayes, in *Duluth Free Press*, May 10, 1935. Mr. Hayes's mother was a sister of William H. Newton.





GRAND PORTAGE IN 1857

[From an oil painting by Eastman Johnson; reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Norman Hirschl of New York.]



INTERIOR OF A LOG CABIN ON POKEGAMA BAY, 1856

[From a charcoal drawing by Eastman Johnson, in the collection of the St. Louis County Historical Society, Duluth.]



**SUPERIOR IN 1857**

[From a charcoal drawing by Eastman Johnson, in the collection of the St. Louis County Historical Society.]



**DOUBLE-HEAD STUDY**

[From an oil painting by Eastman Johnson, in the collection of the St. Louis County Historical Society.]

the Apostle Islands and down the north shore of Lake Superior as far as Isle Royale." Three views of Grand Portage show that Johnson included that early center of the Northwest fur trade in his travels. Among his pictures also is a view of the interior of a cabin, doubtless his studio, for it bears the descriptive comment, "E. J. Superior on Pokegama Bay St Louis river 1856." Seated in Lincolnian fashion before a quaint log fireplace on a rough bench is a bearded and moccasined figure—probably a self portrait. Mr. Bardon recalls seeing Johnson's portrait of Bonga, a picture that has not been located. The mixed-blood guide spoke affectionately of Johnson as a "most likable man to work for," and recalled that he became an expert at handling a birch-bark canoe.<sup>8</sup>

Most of Johnson's known frontier pictures probably are the products of his second visit to Lake Superior, made in the summer of 1857; several of them are dated between August 24 and October 22 of that year. At least some of his time must have been occupied by other interests, however, for he was infected with the fever for land speculation that was sweeping through the new settlement at the Head of the Lakes and the West in general. His brother-in-law's interest in the Superior townsite company doubtless influenced Johnson to invest his capital in local land, and his father placed five hundred dollars at his disposal for the same purpose. With the panic of 1857, the value of town lots dwindled to little or nothing. When Johnson returned to the East in the late autumn he was almost penniless. He managed to repair his fortunes somewhat, however, by painting portraits in Cincinnati, where he stopped before going

<sup>8</sup> Bardon, "Eastman Johnson"; William Walton, "Eastman Johnson, Painter," in *Scribner's Magazine*, 40: 268 (September, 1906). Mr. Baur, in his *Eastman Johnson*, 4, presents evidence that Walton had "at his disposal much material in the form of journals and letters, which have since disappeared." An interesting comparison may be made between Johnson's cabin interior and his later "Boyhood of Lincoln," reproduced by Baur as plate VIII.

to Washington. There in 1859 he painted the "Old Kentucky Home," which brought him membership in the National Academy of Design in New York and assured his future reputation. In time he probably received returns from his investments at Superior, for Mr. Bardon records that in the early 1880's Johnson was there "closing up some land transactions."<sup>9</sup>

If Johnson's sojourn at Superior was a failure financially, artistically it was a success. Few of his western pictures, it is true, found purchasers, for the bulk of the collection was still in the artist's possession when he died in 1906. For the historian, this rich pictorial record of Lake Superior scenes and natives of the 1850's is of untold value. Through a fortunate circumstance, after the artist's death it came to the attention of one who had both an appreciation of its value and the means with which to ensure its permanent preservation. This was Richard T. Crane, a wealthy Chicago manufacturer. Wishing to dispose of the collection, Johnson's widow showed it to Crane. Late in 1908, when the pictures were on display at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, he again saw them. It was at that time that he wrote to the manager of the Duluth office of the Crane Company, suggesting that if Duluth "would like to own these pictures and has any suitable place for them, I should be glad to purchase them and make the city a present of them." "I regard it as of great importance that the city of Duluth should have these pictures," wrote Crane, who directed his correspondent to "take this matter up with the proper city official."<sup>10</sup>

The offer must have been called to the attention of the Duluth city council promptly, for on January 18, 1909, it passed a resolution thanking Crane for the gift of the John-

<sup>9</sup> Baur, *Eastman Johnson*, 16, 17; *Souvenir of Superior*, 132; Walton, in *Scribner's Magazine*, 40: 268; Bardon, "Eastman Johnson."

<sup>10</sup> A copy of Crane's letter, which is dated November 9, 1908, was furnished by Mr. Otto E. Wieland, president of the St. Louis County Historical Society.

son collection. The pictures were to be housed temporarily in the Masonic Temple, where they were placed on display. There they remained for two decades, until February, 1929, when they were turned over to the St. Louis County Historical Society.<sup>11</sup> Today they are the outstanding attraction in this organization's museum in the courthouse in Duluth.

Of the thirty-two pictures in the Duluth collection, twelve are oil paintings, one is a colored pastel, and nineteen are charcoal sketches with the high lights in white. The pastel and seventeen of the charcoal sketches are Indian portraits—heads or full figures. Many of them show the tendency, so common among nineteenth-century artists who pictured the American Indian, to romanticize the "noble savage." Johnson's studies of the figures and faces of the native women particularly illustrate this tendency. Some of his sketches, however, portray true Indian faces, with all their rugged and often unpleasant qualities.<sup>12</sup> Six Indian portraits are included among the oil paintings. Some of Johnson's models doubtless were half-breeds rather than full-bloods. This probably was true, for example, of the subject for the double-head study reproduced herewith.<sup>13</sup>

The remaining charcoal sketches are the picture of the interior of Johnson's log cabin studio, already described, and a sweeping view of the harbor at Superior in 1857. It shows the town as seen across the bay from the Duluth

<sup>11</sup> Wieland to the writer, November 16, 1938.

<sup>12</sup> On at least one occasion Johnson encountered the superstitious fear, common among the red men, that the making of a likeness would be followed by the death of the subject. An Indian maiden whose portrait he had painted went off with the picture in the hope of destroying it, but Johnson succeeded in recovering it before she could harm it. See Walton, in *Scribner's Magazine*, 40: 268. One of the Indian portraits is reproduced with this article, p. 272.

<sup>13</sup> For a list of the pictures in the Duluth collection, giving subjects, dimensions, and mediums, see Baur, *Eastman Johnson*, 60, 79-81. Photographic copies of all these pictures are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. Many of the oil paintings in the group show the influence of Johnson's studies at The Hague.

shore on Minnesota Point, with the dock that led to George R. Stuntz's warehouse in the foreground. To the extreme right is pictured the "Lady Elgin," a steamboat that met with a tragic end in 1860. Mr. Bardon identifies the other boats in this sketch as the "palatial passenger boat 'Manhattan' and the Astor Fur Company's supply boat 'Union.'" Oil paintings other than portraits in the collection include three Indian groups, a picture of a Chippewa wigwam, and two views of Grand Portage. For the historian, these early pictures of the first permanent white settlement in Minnesota are the most significant in the collection. One shows the village as it appeared in the 1850's looking toward the east from a point near the lake shore, with Mount Josephine in the background; the other depicts an Indian encampment toward the northwest at the foot of Mount Rose. That Johnson should have painted a third view, looking south over the lake, was to be expected. As a result of Mr. Baur's researches, such a picture has come to light, and Johnson's panorama of the Grand Portage scene is complete. This picture, which is reproduced herewith, probably was with the original collection when Johnson died, for it was included in a sale of his works in 1907.<sup>14</sup>

Other Lake Superior pictures located by Mr. Baur are two oil paintings entitled "Oweenee of the Chippewas" and "Rock-a-bye, Baby, on the Tree Top." He found also two portraits painted at Superior in 1856—one of the artist's sister, Mrs. Newton, the other of Mrs. Sarah Fairchild Conover.<sup>15</sup> The pencil sketch of the Kettle River camp has been noted. Mention should be made also of a lithograph, in the possession of the St. Louis County Historical

<sup>14</sup> Mr. Baur found the picture, number 18 in his list, in the possession of the Misses F. Pearl and Elizabeth Browning; it is now owned by Mr. Norman Hirschl of New York. See *Eastman Johnson*, 38; Baur to the writer, April 26, 1940. The Minnesota Historical Society obtained a photograph of this picture through the courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.

<sup>15</sup> See Baur's list of Johnson's works, numbers 25, 26, 174, and 234, in *Eastman Johnson*, 52, 61, 67.



Society, showing the "Chronicle Office" at Superior. This is said to be based on a picture by Johnson, but the fact that it is dated 1855 casts doubt on the assumption. Mr. Bardon asserts that Johnson also depicted the first hotel in Superior and the lighthouse on Minnesota Point, and that these pictures, with the view of Superior, were later lithographed.<sup>16</sup>

In the years that followed his visits to Lake Superior, Johnson became known as one of the most prolific and industrious, as well as distinguished, of American painters. His genre pieces were added to the collections of most of the country's important art galleries, and there was a constant demand for portraits from his brush. In the last two decades of his life, commissions came so rapidly that he devoted all his time to portrait painting. It is said that he received as much as ten thousand dollars for a family group, and half that amount for a full-length likeness.<sup>17</sup> But with the development of a less conventional taste in art, Johnson's reputation suffered and museums began to relegate his canvases to basement storerooms. From such a fate many of his pictures were rescued last winter through the efforts of the Brooklyn Museum. Since they were placed before the public at Duluth more than thirty years ago, however, interest in Johnson's Lake Superior studies never has lagged, for their regional and historical importance endow them with a quality of permanence that some of his work lacks. Mr. Baur and the Brooklyn Museum should be given credit for bringing them to the attention of a wider audience.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

<sup>16</sup> Bardon, "Eastman Johnson."

<sup>17</sup> Baur, *Eastman Johnson*, 25.

## TWO MISSIONARIES IN THE SIOUX COUNTRY

### THE NARRATIVE OF SAMUEL W. POND

*[The first installment of the Pond narrative appears with an introduction in the March issue of this magazine, ante, p. 15-32. It covers the story of the coming of the brothers, Samuel and Gideon Pond, to Minnesota in 1834; of their experiences as missionaries and farmers for the Sioux at Lake Calhoun, Lake Harriet, and Lac qui Parle; and of their early efforts to learn the Dakota language and reduce it to a written form. The second of three installments of the narrative is presented herewith. T. C. B.]*

I soon perceived that my relations with Mr Stevens were not likely to prove very agreeable. As G. was now gone Mr. Stevens thought I should be compelled to remain with him, and he gave me to understand that, as he was a licenced preacher and I only a layman, he should expect me to spend much of my time in manual labor, and interpret for him in his intercourse with the Indians, but I did not come here to interpret for any one,—certainly not for one with as little ability natural or acquired as Mr. S. so I determined to go to Connecticut and obtain a licence to preach.<sup>36</sup> I did not think a licence would add any thing to my authority or ability to preach the Gospel to the Dakotas, but it might relieve me from some embarrassment in my intercou[r]se with my clerical associates, though regularly educated clergymen should still regard me some as West Pointers do one who is appointed to military office from civil life.

After a six weeks passage by way of the lakes I reached Connecticut in June—studied Theology with Rev. Gordon Hayes the pastor of the church in Washington, and was ordained March fourth, 1837. By teaching school that winter I earned enough to pay the expens[e] of my passage back, but our acquaintance in Washington had changed

<sup>36</sup> Stevens explained to the American Board that he was purposely freeing Pond from all secular duties which might confine him to the station and hinder his acquisition of the Sioux language. See his letters to Greene, September 26, 1837, and June 26, 1838, in American Board transcripts.

their minds about our mission, and some of them offered me more money than I accepted. They were opposed to our enterprize at first only because they thought it too dangerous and being satisfied on that point, they would have taken on themselves the responsibility of our support, but on account of our conection with other Missionarie[s] I thought best to decline the offer. I returned without waiting for an appointment from the committee at Boston, as that would have detained me longer in New England, and I was in haste to get back.\* My second journey out was more comfortable than the first, for though I took deck passage on the rivers as before, I did not neglect as I did then to provide myself with a blanket.<sup>37</sup> I left my baggage at Prairie du Chein with Maj [Gustavus] Loomis and came in a small boat with some lumbermen to Lake Pepin, stopping one day at Monte trempe a l'eau to visit Mr. Gavin, who had then been with the Dakotas about a year.<sup>38</sup> The boat I came on was in charge of Hudson, from whom I suppose a town in Wisconsin has its name.<sup>39</sup> We reached Mr. Gavins place Saturday, and the men told me that I could not get onto a steam boat there and must go on with them the next morning, for they could not afford to wait for me any longer. As I had no claims on them I supposed they would go on without me, but they were there Monday morning and when we reached the end of our journey would accept of noth[in]g for my passage.

I was much pleased with Mr Gavin, and further acquaintance increased my esteem for him. He had quite a number of in[t]eresting

\* Mr Hays obtained an appointment for me that summer [author's note].

<sup>37</sup> Samuel Pond was not actually appointed a missionary of the American Board until October 3, 1837. See Greene to Pond, October 4, 1837, in Pond Papers. Gideon was made assistant missionary on December 5, 1837. Greene to Gideon Pond, December 7, 1837, American Board transcripts.

<sup>38</sup> On Loomis, an officer stationed at Fort Snelling, see Marcus L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858*, 156, 166 (Iowa City, 1918). Trempealeau, "The Mountain that Dips in the Water," is an island in the Mississippi situated about three miles above the mouth of the Black River. Gavin was stationed there at the time of Pond's visit.

<sup>39</sup> Pond seems to have been mistaken in this surmise, for Hudson was named in Alfred Day's petition of November 9, 1852, because of the resemblance of the St. Croix to the Hudson River. The village was previously known as Willow River and Buena Vista. Genevieve C. Day, *Hudson in the Early Days*, 20 (1932); A. B. Easton, ed., *History of the St. Croix Valley*, 2: 791 (Chicago, 1909).

legends which he had written at the dictation of Madame La Chapelle, but he labored under the same disadvantage that we had done for want of an alphabet, for the Dakota differs as much from the French as from the English, and when I showed him our alphabet he approved of it and adopted it at once. He told me that he had in Switzerland a companion to whom he was very much attached, and who was selected to come with him to America, but he was drowned just before they were ready to start, and Mr. Denton took his place. Mr Denton was I believe an honest upright man but slow to learn and very excentric. I think no woman labored harder or more efficiently for the benefit of the Dakotas than Mrs Denton did. When I returned to Lake Harriet in May my brother met me there. He had made commendable progress in Dakota during my absence, and furnished me with some of the results of his studies. About the first of June 1837, Mr. [Stephen R.] Riggs arrived at Lake Harriet and I had the honor of giving to the future D.D. L.L.D. — Author of the Dakota grammar and Dictionary &c his first lessons in Dakota. I continued to help him what I could till September when he left for Lac qui parle carrying with him many hundred words that G. and I had collected and doubtless my brother and others at L. q. p. furnished him with other words faster than he could learn to use them. He says in "*Mary and I*" Mr Stevens collected the words that he found at Lake Harriet. I found on my return that Mr Stevens had made no advance in learning Dakota. He had collected no words and those which we had given him he had not learned to use nor tried to learn, but his niece Cornelia Stevens, who came to Lake H. when she was but sixteen years of age, had learned very rapidly and though neither she nor other females except Mr[s] Denton were in the habit of writing what they learned, we were doubtless indebted to them for many words in the dictionary.<sup>40</sup> In the summer of 1837, I wrote the

<sup>40</sup> Riggs likewise wrote Greene that in June, 1837, he had copied a small vocabulary of Stevens. He also stated that he had added to this some three or four hundred more words with Samuel Pond's help, that to these he had added Dr. Williamson's collection at Lac qui Parle, further words collected there by himself, the doctor, and Gideon, and two or three hundred more from Samuel's winter hunt in 1838. Riggs's letters would nowhere seem to claim full credit for the dictionary. In 1839, he wrote to Samuel: "when you make any discoveries in Sioux I shall be glad to hear of them — I make none — just plod along, scarcely knowing whether I learn any or not." He says several times that Sam-

story of Joseph and sent it to Lac qui parle where it was revised by Gideon. I believe that was the first book in Dakota written by a Missionary that was published, except [t] lessons for children in school.

In Oct I started with another hunting party, and, profiting by former experience was more Comfortable or rather less uncomfortable than in the winter of 1835. We were three months without bread and salt but had plenty of good food. Fortunately for me the lock of my gun was broken soon after we started by a boy to whom I lent it, so that I was excused from hunting, and could spend my time more profitably for when I accompanied the hunters I seldom heard a word spoken except while a deer was being dressed, while there was always talking enough at the tents, and if I was at any time tired of listening to the gossip of the Indians, I had with me a pocket testament and lexicon in Greek. The family that I lived with consisted of a middle aged man and his wife and two of his nephews, both old enough to hunt, and, as the men were all good hunters, we had always venison enough and a surplus for those who had none. The old man made an estimate of the number of deer that I ate, and I paid him so that he and his wife said it was enough, and what was unexpected and remarkable they never afterwards claimed that I was under any obligations to them.

I returned to the Lake in January, but soon after received a letter from Mr. Prescott who was sick at Traverse des Sioux with no one to take care of him, so I went up about the first of February Taking care of Mr Prescott a while, and then of his store while he was brought down to the Fort.<sup>41</sup> There I found myself among the most degraded Indians I had seen, and Mr. Prescott left a Canadien with me who was more disagreeable than the savages so that I was glad to

uel had done most for the "grammatical principles" of collecting the Sioux language. "Yours I consider the *nucleus*. I have tried to gather a few crystals and put round it." See Riggs to Greene, February 24, 1841, American Board transcripts; Riggs to Pond, June 21, 1839, January 2, 1841, Pond Papers. An excellent sketch of Riggs by Grace Lee Nute appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 15:605 (New York, 1935).

"Philander Prescott, the trader at Traverse des Sioux, states in his unpublished "Memoirs," now in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, that he asked Samuel Pond "to come up and keep house" for him while he went down to the doctor for a month. See p. 199. Pond was at Prescott's post from about February 1 to April 10, 1838. See Pond to Greene, May 21, 1838, American Board transcripts.

call occasionally on M. Le Blanc whose manners were always exceedingly polite, and his conversation always amusing.<sup>42</sup>

About the middle of April I left The Traverse on foot with Eagle Head a chief and his son a youth about twenty years of age to go to Lac qui parle for G. and I contemplated commencing a new station near where Fort Ridgley now stands. A son of Mr. Le Blanc, who had married a daughter of Eagle Head and who had been the winter before in the employ of Joseph R. Brown and stationed at a frontier trading post, was murdered by an Indian whom he had insulted and Eagle Head was going after his daughter.<sup>43</sup>

We had no tent, and our journey was very disagreeable owing to cold rains and sleet which drenched our clothing, and when we reached the Chippeway River one cold windy day we found the stream high and rapid, and no means of crossing except a canoe which lay on the opposite shore full of water. Eagle Head said he was too old, and his son was too young to swim the river, and I did not feel like plunging into that cold water and stemming that rapid current, but I had been out of provision for some time, and there was a prospect of a storm so, after waiting a while to see what the Indians would do, I swam over and got the canoe. I had just got the water out of it and was starting back when I heard a shout, and looking round saw the young man running down on the west bank of the river. He had found a better place to cross higher up and one of us had a cold bath for nothing. The next day it snowed all day but we were safe under shelter. I have mentioned that G. and [I] expected to commence a new station by ourselves, for we preferred being together, and it did not seem advisable for us to be at Lake Harriet while Mr. Stevens was there, but after our horses were saddl[e]d and we were ready to start to select a place to build Mr. Renville advised us to postpone building to another year, and as the Dr. could do nothing to displease Mr Renville our project was abandoned, and in less than a year from that time we were both at Lake Hairet. Mr. Stevens had some difficulty with the Lake Calhoun band and while I was at Traverse des Sioux he wrote to me urging me to return so when our plans in

<sup>42</sup> Le Blanc was the famous fur trader, Louis Provençalle. For a sketch of his career see Babcock, in *Minnesota History*, 20: 259-268.

<sup>43</sup> For a more detailed account of this incident, see Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12: 322, 394. On Brown and his career, see Follwell, *Minnesota*, 3: 347-357.

regard to a new station were frustrated I returned to the lake. The treaty of 1837 was now ratified and in the summer of 1838 Major Taliaferro received instructions to appoint a farmer for each band of the Mdewakantonwan.<sup>44</sup> Mr. Stevens, Mr. Prescott and others applied for the appointment of farmer for the Lake Calhoun band, but the Agent refused to give it to them, and offered it to me. I at first told him I could not take it, but he said the Indians would be dissatisfied if he gave it to any one else, so I consented to hold the appointment until I could ascertain wheth[er] Gideon would take it off my hands.<sup>45</sup> This pleased T[a]li[a]ferro for he was very unwilling to have my brother leave Lake Calhoun.

Maj Taliaferro resigned soon after & read to me his letter of resignation, in which he said that the [American] Fur Company was too strong for him or the Government—that they interfered with his management of the Indians and thwarted his plans for their improvement. He at that time had his faults—and his example did not exert a salutary influence on the morals of the Indians, but he had been so friendly to us that we felt as though we “Better could have spared a better man” and we rejoiced greatly when we afterwards heard of his reformation.

About the first of November Dr. Williamson and family arrived at Mendota on his way to Ohio, and, Gideon came to bring him down and carry back a load from the Traverse. It was too late in the season to undertake such a journey and subjected my broth[er] to needless hardships and dangers.

Just before he started for home we went to Mr Sibleys to transact some business, and were detained over night. At daylight the next morning Mr. Sibley sent Milor an old man in his employ to put us

<sup>44</sup> Land cession treaties with both the Sioux and the Chippewa in 1837 provided for the establishment of a system of teaching farming to the natives, an idea that followed theories that Taliaferro had long applied. Possibly Taliaferro was himself responsible for the inclusion of the provisions for government farmers. The Mdewakanton were one of the divisions, or council fires, of the Sioux. They had main villages up to 1853 at Winona, Red Wing, Shakopee, St. Paul, and Fort Snelling. A copy of an unpublished paper by Sister Grace McDonald on “The Government Farmer and the Minnesota Indians” is in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>45</sup> The contract making Samuel “farmer and instructor in Agriculture” to the Lake Calhoun Sioux, made on October 1, 1838, is preserved among the Pond Papers.

across the river.<sup>46</sup> The canoe was a bad one but we did not know it, and, by some mismanagement, it was over set while we were getting into it, plunging us into deep water. When G. and I rose to the surface the old man was missing, but I caught a glimpse of his red jacket und[e]r water and drew him out. We then crossed the river and giving the old man some money to warm himse[l]f with, we walked against a cold wind in our wet garments eight miles to Lake Harriet, for we had no time to lose as G. was anxious to reach Traverse des Sioux before the river froze up. He started the next day but was comp[e]lled by the ice to abandon his canoe near Little Rapids, and to add to the embarrassment of his situation an Indian who accompanied him was attacked by the small pox. His companions name was Eagle Help a man of superior natural abilities, and one who had the reputation of being a very skillful physician.<sup>47</sup> He pointed out some roots to my brother, who dug them up and made of them a decoction for him to drink. G. had considerable baggage with him, a part of which he carried on his back to the Traverse, and then came back with a horse for the remainder. He then loaded his waggon — put the sick man into it — and started on a journ[e]y of more than a hundred miles through a deep snow, with the mercury below zero. He had a covered waggone but could not ride in it, for one of his horses would not go without continual urging, so he had to walk on the north side of the waggon to keep the team going. He told me his feet would have been frozen if he had not wrapped them in muskrat skins that he obtained at a lake where he passed the Sabbath. As it was he suffered severely and only a man of great strength and energy could have endured the hardships that he encountered on that ill advised journey. Some years afterwards Dr. W. sent two men in the winter from Yellow Medicine to Traverse des Sioux after a load of provision, and they had to leave their team to perish on the p[r]airie, while the men themselves barely escaped with their lives, one of them

<sup>46</sup> Milor, the son of a French officer and an Indian woman, served as a guide for George W. Featherstonhaugh on his explorations in Minnesota in 1835, and he greatly impressed the Englishman by his skill and resourcefulness. *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnaw Sotor*, 1: 259 (London, 1847).

<sup>47</sup> For further information about Eagle Help, see Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I*, 53–55 (Chicago, 1880), and his "Dakota Portraits," edited by Willoughby M. Babcock, in *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2:561–568 (November, 1918).



losing part of his feet. Eagle Help recovered and was among the fugitives who fled to Ma[n]itoba in 1862. Last winter he died there and just before his death he said "My medicines are good, and I have cured many people with them, but if another attempts to use them he may do more harm than good so throw them all away" He was not engaged in the outbreak but his son was and he went North with him. My brother was married in the Fall of 1837 to a sister of Dr. W's wife and I was married in November 1838 <sup>48</sup> to Cordelia Eggleston at Lake Harriet.<sup>49</sup> Quite a numbe[r] of persons were present when I was marr[ie]d but I believe none of them are now alive except Mr Sibley and myself, but that must have been long ago, for Dred Scott was then at Ft Snelling, and his owners at the wedding. Dr. Emerson<sup>50</sup>

In April 1839 My brother and his family with Mr Gavin, who had spent the winter at Lac qui parle, and Eagle Help came all the way from Lac q. p. to Mendote in a canoe, and the farming was transfered to him, but it was no sinecure. About twenty head of ill assorted, half wild cattle were committed to his charge to be watched in the summer and fed in the winter. He had to make team out of bullocks unaccustomed to the yoke and too old to be easily subdued, but he from boyhood was skillful in the use of oxen, and soon had a team, though some of them were always wild. Ploughing their fields was a small part of the work that he had to do for the Indian, and it

<sup>48</sup> In the original manuscript, the year has been inserted above the line in pencil.

<sup>49</sup> Gideon's marriage to Sarah Poage on November 1, 1837, is described by Riggs in *Mary and I*, 32-34. Cordelia Eggleston, a sister of Mrs. Stevens, was a New York schoolteacher who accompanied Stevens on his return from an eastern trip in November, 1837, and who taught at the mission school and helped with the cooking. Her marriage occurred on November 22, 1838, at the Lake Harriet mission. Samuel wrote to a friend a few days later that both he and Gideon had "such wives as missionaries ought to have." Pond to Samuel Leavitt, November 29, 1838, to Mrs. Hine, January 20, 1838, Pond Papers; Stevens to Greene, January 8, November 20, 1838, Pond to Greene, February 4, 1840, American Board transcripts; Pond, *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, 128-132.

<sup>50</sup> The name has been added in pencil at the end of the paragraph. Dr. John Emerson went to Fort Snelling as post physician in 1836, taking his slave, Dred Scott, with him. An article on Emerson by Charles E. Snyder, who quotes several letters that the doctor wrote from Fort Snelling in 1839 and 1840, appears in the *Annals of Iowa*, 21: 440-461 (October, 1938).

required sixty tons of hay to winter their cattle and his own cattle and horses. He did most of the hard work himself, sometimes plowing alone with two yoke of oxen, but no one man could do it all, and he paid out a good deal of money for hired labor. He had to build his own house and store houses for the Indians. Before the treaty was made the Ind[i]ans would assist in plowing their fields but afterwards not one of them would touch a plow. Most of the farmers took things very easily and had as little to do with the Indians as possible. The first farmer for the Shakopee band got along several years with out doing any thing for the Indians except that now and then he gave a present to the chief. He used their waggons and carts for his own business, and let their cattle starve to death, and some of the other farmers did not do much better. In the winter of 1841, almost all the cattle belonging to the Mdewakantonwan perished for want of food. At some of the villages not one was left alive. Yet Gideon did not lose one and his oxen were in good condition for work in the spring. [Peter] Quinn had the cattle for Good Roads band, and as he lived near the Fort his cattle, having nothing to eat at home, annoyed the people at the Garrison and Maj Plympton ordered them shot.<sup>51</sup> Yet these farmers drew their salaries and were excused from plowing the next Spring because they had no teams while G. had no excuse so that when I say the farming was no sinecure I only mean that it was not one in Gs hands. Dr Williamson in a sermon which he preached in St. Paul in commemoration of Gideon said that he gave away a certain amount of money so that what he retained would make his salary about equal to that received by the other missionaries. Dr W was incapable of making a wilful misrepresentation, but quite liable to make mistakes.<sup>52</sup> The missionaries up the river received so many valuable donations aside from their salaries that it would have been impossible for him to ascertain what their income was, if he attempted

<sup>51</sup> Quinn, an adventurous Irishman, was an Indian trader and interpreter. See John H. Stevens, ed., *History of Minneapolis and Hennepin County*, 2: 1209 (New York, 1875). Good Road was chief of the Pini-sha village, nine miles above Fort Snelling. Samuel gives a humorous account of his arrest in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12: 327.

<sup>52</sup> Samuel's estimated budget for the Lake Harriet mission in 1839-40 was only \$250.00. See his letter to H. Hill, June 24, 1839, in the Pond Papers. After Gideon began to receive a salary as farmer, the two families managed to live on that alone plus the gifts they received from Connecticut. Samuel Pond to Greene, May 10, 1842, Williamson to Greene, May 16, 1843, American Board transcripts.

it which he never did, and he did not believe, neither do I believe, that any of those missionaries could have done what he did for the Indians and supported their family on what was left of the six hundred dollars.\*

My brother and I were now together again with the Lake Calhoun band after a separation of three years, but Mr Stevens did not like the arrangement and soon left Lake Harriet, having obtained the appointment of farmer to the Waapaxa band.<sup>53</sup> Mr Gavin married Cornelia Stevens about the same time and took her to Red Wing, but the next Spring he and Mr Denton with their families came to Camp Cold Water, where we all occupied the same house for a year.<sup>54</sup> Mr. Gavin and I making preaching excursions to villages on the river.

After the slaughter of the Chippeways in 1839, the Indians were afraid to remain at the Lake.<sup>55</sup> They would doubtless have soon returned but Major Plympton determined to remove them from the Reserve so he and Col. [Amos J.] Bruce who had succeeded Maj. Taliaferro went up and selected a location for us at Credit River, where Hamilton now is, and my brother had orders to go to that place and plow that Spring for the Indians, though we were permitted to leave our families in a large stone house built by [Benjamin F.] Baker at Camp Cold Water.<sup>56</sup> Our Indians were very unwilling to go to Credit River, and other Indians were opposed to their going there,

\* He saved the money by hard work and economy & thought he could spare it but I thought he gave too much [*author's note.*]

<sup>53</sup> The band of Wabasha III near Lake Pepin. See Thomas Hughes, *Indian Chiefs of Southern Minnesota*, 10 (Mankato, 1927); and Samuel Pond to Greene, June 14, 1839, in the American Board transcripts. A controversy in reference to the division of the Pond and Stevens property followed Stevens' departure. Stevens, at his own request, was released from his connection with the board. Greene to Stevens, October 11, 1839, American Board transcripts.

<sup>54</sup> Camp Cold Water was the site of the camping ground at high-water time during the building of Fort Snelling.

<sup>55</sup> Some ninety Chippewa were killed at Rum River and twenty-one near the site of present-day Stillwater in bloody encounters that followed a Chippewa-Sioux council at Fort Snelling. Among numerous and varied accounts of these events may be noted those by Edward D. Neill and Samuel Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2: 138, and 3: 131-133. The Sioux, fearing Chippewa revenge, abandoned the Calhoun village.

<sup>56</sup> Bruce was the United States Indian agent at St. Peter's from 1839 to 1848. Hamilton has since been renamed Savage, and the Credit River is Elk Creek. Samuel wrote Greene on July 14, 1840, that he and his

but we had a Colonel and a Major to deal with, and their orders were imperative, so having pulled down our house and taken away the lumber from Lake Harriet, we started for Credit River with three or four yoke of oxen and a load of lumber, swimming our oxen across the river at Mendote, and drawing our cart across by a strong cord of raw hide long enough to reach across the river. Our cart disappeared as it went into the river, and spectators said we should never see it again, but it reappeared as it ascended the opposite bank. When we reached Credit river we were not at all pleased with the location, and were unwilling to build there, but we hardly knew what to do, for Major Plympton and Col Bruce had, after personal inspection, pronounced the place a good one. We could get along well enough with Col. Bruce and, Major Plympton had treated us well, but he was a man of very decided opinions and arbitrary temper. However, I left my brother at Credit River and went down to see him. I did not venture to complain of the location, but I told him that our band had selected a place at Bloomington, and, as the Indians above were opposed to their going to Credit River, I did not believe they would go there that season. After a long talk with him he reluctantly gave us permission to plow for them that Spring at Bloomington but declared he would compell them to go to Credit River the next year. Col Bruce was indifferent about the matter. My Brother had so little hope of my succeeding with the Maj. that he had been busy during my absence building a shanty, though he had been ordered away by Indians from above. We willingly abandoned our shanty and went down to where the Indians were encamped nearly opposite the place where we afterwards built. We did not think we should ever be sent to Credit River again, but did not tell the Major so. When we first went to Lake Calhoun the village was small and all acknowledged Marpiwecaxta as chief,<sup>57</sup> but, in consequence of our going there, they brother had hired a house a mile from Fort Snelling for a year. See American Board transcripts. For information on Baker, a well-known trader, see George Henry Gunn, "Peter Garrioch at St. Peter's," in *Minnesota History*, 20: 122 (June, 1939).

<sup>57</sup> Marpiwecaxta was "Cloudman," one of the most enlightened of Sioux chiefs. See Hughes, *Indian Chiefs of Southern Minnesota*, 19-30. Chief Cloudman was an ancestor of Dr. Charles A. Eastman, the famous author of books on Indian life. Gideon Pond, in a letter of March 16, 1836, to Ruth Pond, in the Pond Papers, presents Cloudman's account of Indian warfare, a record of unusual interest.

gathered in from other villages, so that in a short time the number was greatly increased, and among others an old man named *Karboka* who claimed to be a chief came bringing a good many with him. Between him and Marpiwecaxta there was a rivalry, and, when they left Lake Calhoun, the band separated, Karbokas party encamping nearer the Fort than the other party. They were displeased because Gideon did not plow for them first, and, while he was plowing for the others a large number of them went up and drove away his oxen, but when he perceived what their intentions were, he slipped off the yokes, and they got nothing but the oxen. It was supposed that they did this at the instigation of Scott Campbell, and that some one had promised to plow for them, but when Plympton heard of it he told Campbell to tell Karboka that if the men who brought away the oxen did not take them back immediately the soldiers would be after them, and if any man attempted to plow for them with G's team he would find himself in the guard house. They hurried back with the oxen and G. went up and finish[e]d plowing. He had intended to plow for Karbokas party, but when Indians attempted to drive us we always found it best to be a little obstinate, so when he had finished plowing for the upper band he, with the aid of the Indian, crossed his team and cart over the river and a swamp at Oak Grove, and went home and the other party had to dig up the ground with their hoes, but it did them good and they caused less trouble afterwards. Karbokas was mortally wounded that summer by Chippeways at Camp Cold water and his son killed.<sup>58</sup> Our experience about that time was more disagreeable than at any other time during our missionary life, for while we were meeting with so much difficulty in finding a suitable place for a new location our brethren at Lac qui parle, without consulting us, recommended that we should be sent to Lac Travers, and Mr Green the Secretary wrote to us as though he expected us to go there as a matter of course, but we refused to take our families among the desperados of that lawless region, and if our removal there had been insisted upon we should have withdrawn from the mission but not from the Indians. Mr. Green said he thought we need have no apprehension of serious difficulty with the Indians there provided we managed discreetly, and I suppose the Committee thought us contumacious, but we knew the

<sup>58</sup> Kabboka and his son were killed within fifty rods of the Pond house. The event occurred in 1841. Samuel Pond to Greene, May 8, 1841, American Board transcripts; Pond, *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, 150.

character of the Indian[s] at Lac T. better than they did and we knew the state of things at Lac qui parle better than they. The missionaries at L. q. p. were under the protection of Mr Renville, the most influential man in that region, and they gave many valuable presents to the Indians, but Mr. R. could not restrain the Indians, and the donations did not conciliate them so that there was any security for property belonging to the Mission. In 1850 Mr. Huggins reported that fifty cattle and horses belonging to that stati[o]n had been killed or stolen by the Indians. At Lac Travers we should doubtless have found matters much worse for we should have had no protection and we never paid black mail. The fear of exposing ourselves to danger would not have deterred us from going there but we had families to care for.<sup>59</sup> Not long after recommending that we should be sent away from the Mdewakantowan, Mr. Riggs left L. q. p. but not for Lac Travers. He attempted to locate himself at Shakopee but was refused permission by the Indians both here and at Little Rapids, so he went to Traverse des Sioux, where I visited him the first winter he was there, and found them so harrassed and alarmed by the Indians that Mrs. Riggs said they could not remain there unless they could obtain relief. On my return I applied at the Fort for military protection for them and Captain [Electus] Backus, at my request, arrested and put in irons a man who had shot at Mr Riggs.<sup>60</sup> When Mr. R heard of his arrest he was very much alarmed, and wrote to me to try to get him out of prison as soon as possible lest his relatives should do them some mischief at the Traverse, and, as I made no haste about the matter, he came down himself to get him set free, and Capt Backus released him but very reluctantly for he

<sup>59</sup> "It is true," wrote Samuel of the Lake Traverse Indians, "that they cannot injure us or our property without the permission of our heavenly Father but still . . . it does not seem to us prudent to expose property to the depredations of unrestrained savages." See his letter to Greene, May 8, 1841, in the American Board transcripts. There are various other letters among the transcripts and in the Pond Papers relating to this subject. Though Greene, on the recommendation of Riggs, suggested Lake Traverse, he wrote Samuel that he would leave the matter to the judgment of the Ponds. Letter of June 15, 1841, Pond Papers.

<sup>60</sup> On February 3, 1845, Backus wrote Samuel, requesting him to come to Fort Snelling to identify an Indian thought to be the one who shot an arrow at Riggs and who also "showed a willingness to use his knife on your person." See Pond Papers. In the margin near this point the following notation appears in the manuscript: "Dr. W. afterwards left Lac qui p for Kaposia."

wished to send him to Prairie du Chien for trial.\* For my interference in the matter I recieved the hearty thanks of Mr. Rigg's associate the Rev Mr. [Robert] Hopkins,<sup>61</sup> and Mr Rigg's fear of retaliation proved groundless, for they had less trouble with the Indians afterwards but it was well for Mr R. that he was not at Travers where the Indians were more than a match for Joseph R. Brown. One Spring while I was at Lac qui parle they killed his teams & wounded him so he had to send to Mr. Renville for help, and they did many worse things, so that troops were sent there more than once to arrest murderers.

In the Spring of 1841 Mr Riggs went east and was absent a year, while I took his place at Lac qui parle.<sup>62</sup> Dr. Williamson expected to remain there with me, but on the twentie[t]h of June a frost killed the crops down to the ground, and as the Indians were killing off the cattle belonging to the mission the Dr. anticipating a scarcity of food removed with his family to Camp Cold Water, where he resided more than a year in the house with G while Mr. Huggins and myself remained at Lac qui p.<sup>63</sup> On my return in the Spring of 1842 I met, at Traverse des Sioux, Mr. Riggs and family, with Mr. and Mrs. Hopkins, who had lately joined the Dakota mission.<sup>64</sup> I have already mentioned the attempt of Mr. Riggs to form a new station at Shakopee, and Little Rapids. As he had been repulsed by the Indians at both of those places he wished to locate himself at the Traverse, but was apprehensive that the Indians would not permit him to build there. As he seemed determined not to go back to Lac qui parle, I

\* He refused to rel[e]ase him until I told him I could not very well go to Prairie du Chein as a witness [author's note.]

<sup>61</sup> Hopkins went to Minnesota in 1843 as a Presbyterian minister to the Sioux. He was at Lac qui Parle for a year and then served at Traverse des Sioux until his death by drowning in the summer of 1851. Riggs, *Mary and I*, 75-77, 90, 115.

<sup>62</sup> Riggs went east in the spring of 1842, not 1841. Samuel and his wife then went to stay with the Williamsons. See Williamson to Greene, February 8, 1842, in the American Board transcripts; Huggins to Samuel Pond, May 2, 1842, and Gideon to Samuel Pond, June 26, 1842, in the Pond Papers. On the trip to Lac qui Parle, see Pond, *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, 159.

<sup>63</sup> This was the winter of 1842-43. Williamson to Samuel Pond, August 3, 1842, Pond Papers; to Greene, July 29, 1842, American Board transcripts.

<sup>64</sup> This meeting actually occurred in the spring of 1843. Riggs to Greene, July 24, 1843, American Board transcripts.

advised him to go on and build without asking permission for I knew it would be refused, as it had been at the villages below, and he did so. I came down the river with the same boat and crew that Mr Riggs had on his passage up and as we drew near the village of Shakopee some men standing on the shore began to fire at us, the balls striking the water very near us. I was steering the boat and as soon as I perceived they were firing at us I directed my wife to get behind a chest with her babe, and pointing the boat towards the men on the shore ordered the oarsmen to row fast. When the Indians saw we were approaching them they hastened away. I was at first surprized at such unusual conduct, but they recognized the boat and supposing Mr. Riggs was returning they wished [to] frighten him. That was the only time that an Indian ever even pretended to shoot at me except, that I found an arrow once sticking in my house at Shakopee just over the window that might have been shot at me, and a man who attempted to stab me in Mr Riggs house at Traverse des Sioux was the only Indian that ever assaulted me. But I have been threatened and may have been in more danger when I was not threatened for when Indians meditate mischief they are not apt to give their victims warning of their intentions. I have suffered almost nothing from fear of personal injury but that was not because I [did not] know that there were always some among the Indians who would have killed me without hesitation if they had known they could do it with impunity.

The winter of 1841-2,<sup>65</sup> was a long and hard one, and the snow was very deep. It was the year that so many cattle died in this region, but G. had hay in abundance, and, while the other farmers did nothing but look on and see their cattle die of starvation, he collected materials for a house at Oak Grove, for Major Plympton was gone now and no more was said about Credit River.<sup>66</sup>

The walls of the building were constructed of large tamarack logs, and the house was of sufficient size to accommodate both our families. The place where he obtained the timber was eight or ten miles from his residence at Camp Cold Water and four or five miles from the

<sup>65</sup> The correct date, "1842-3," is written in pencil above this date in the manuscript.

<sup>66</sup> Gideon wrote Samuel on November 11, 1842, that Quinn was to build near him and that the Indians of Good Road and Marpiwecaxta seemed glad to have the Ponds in their neighborhood. Pond Papers.



place where he built, so he built a hut at Oak Grove where he and his hired man staid over night, while he was hauling the timber. The snow was so deep that he could cross the prairie only with a strong team composed of three or four yoke of oxen, and he could not drive them without snow shoes. He had never been accustomed to wearing snow shoes and would gladly have dispensed with them, for they embarrassed his movements, and if he happened to fall down he could not rise again till he detached them from his feet, but the snow was a greater impediment to his walking than the snow shoes and he could not manage his long team with heavy loads without them. He prosecuted the work with his usual energy, and, when I came down from Lac qui parle in June 1843<sup>67</sup> the house was about ready for occupation and there I found a home for five years and he one for life, though not in that house.

In the fall or beginning of winter of 1846 Col. Bruce sent for me to his office where I found Shakopee<sup>68</sup> with most of his men, and the Col. informed me that they had given me an invitation through him to go to their village, and promised to give me all the privileges I needed of cutting wood grass &c, and send their children to school. I knew Shakopee and his men too well to have much confidence in their promises but Col. Bruce said they had always been opposed to missionaries and schools, exerting a bad influence over the other Indians, and as they had now come for me of their own accord, he thought I ought to embrace the offered opportunity. I gave them no definite answer but told them to go home and talk the matter over, and I would go up after a while and see if they had not changed their minds. After waiting a few weeks, I came up and found them gathered together at the house of their trader, Oilivier Faribault.<sup>69</sup> They

<sup>67</sup> The year has been added above the line in pencil.

<sup>68</sup> The name "Xakpedan," a variant of Shakopee, appears in the manuscript above this name. Williamson some years later wrote Greene that Shakopee, chief of the upper and largest band of the Mdewakanton Sioux, had requested Samuel Pond to reside in his village and to teach the children to read. He added that the chief was "a very disagreeable man," but had more influence than any other Sioux. Letter of January 28, 1847, American Board transcripts.

<sup>69</sup> Oliver Faribault probably was not eager to have Pond in Shakopee, for he had once said that each Indian who learned to read and write meant a five-hundred-dollar loss to him as a trader. Pond, *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, iv. Upon the death of Faribault in 1851, Riggs wrote with a certain dry humor, to Martin McLeod, on October 25, 1851, that

still insisted on my coming here, and said there was no one who objected to it. When I asked Mr. Farribault what he thought about it, he said he was the first one who suggested it to them. I had suspicions that all was not just as it appeared, to be, but determined to come here, and went down to Point Douglas and purchased lumber for a house.<sup>70</sup> G. went down first with a strong team and brought up the timber for the frame on the ice, and then I went with four yoke of oxen and brought four thousand feet of boards in one load, but near Grey Cloud Island my forward cattle slipped and fell, and that accident turned the team off from the track onto a weak place where all broke through. The water wa[s] so deep that I feared at first I should lose them all, but they were strong and active, and when they were relieved of their yokes they succeeded one after another in getting out. I had of course to get into the water myself up to my waist and found it a difficult matter to extricate them from their yokes and chains. Some of the bow pins I chopped off, but lost my axe in the river before they were all unyoked. The yokes and bows did not sink, but the chains of course did. As fast as the oxen came out I tied them to the sled, for I had ropes on them all, but with their addi[t]ional weight the sled broke through the ice and I cut the ropes in haste and let them go. Some of them were young and wild, and all of them were frightened, and ran off in different directions some on one side of the river and some on the other side, but I caught them one by one and tied them to trees, and after recovering my axe and chains, went to Grey Cloud Island and got two men to help me unload and reload my sled. The accident detained me twenty four hours and I felt the effects of the wetting and extra exertion many days.

I had the materials for my house all prepared at Ft Snelling ready for putting up, and transported them to Shakopee on a barge, and then set a man at work digging a cellar and came<sup>71</sup> home, but he came down the next day and told me that as soon as I got away the Indians took away his tools and sent him off. Col. Bruce was then absent and I forget who was in command at the Fort, but think he was at that time a stranger to me. When I went to him with my the event showed a "marked providence." McLeod Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>70</sup> Point Douglas is on the west side of the mouth of Lake St. Croix.

<sup>71</sup> In the manuscript the word "went" is written above the word "came."

complaint he said, Col. Bruce had requested him to see that the Indians did not annoy me during his absence, and he proposed to send up soldiers and arrest some of the Indians, but I told him I thought a letter from him would answer my purpose just as well, so he gave me one and I went up and collected the Indians together at Mr. Farribalts, and asked him to read it to them. He read it reluctantly but he had to read it correctly for I was there to listen to it. He prided himself greatly on his cunning, and he hoped, if I was driven away, to get my lumber pretty cheaply. The materials for my building being all ready to put together formed a tempting prize for him, for it was the first framed house on the Minnesota above Mendote, but, if he had known me better, I think he would hardly have hoped to prevent my building then after I had done so much towards it.

That was the only time that I ever asked for military interference in my favor, and then I only asked for a few words in writing. I never had any serious trouble with the Indians here afterward though I had some very sharp talks with Shakopee, who was very insolent and overbearing at first. Mr. Moer who was Indian farme[r] here then said Shakopee told him that no other man ever ventured to talk to him as I did, but though he was very much disturbed for a while it did him good and he soon learnd to treat me with respect. I still occupy the house that I built when I first came here.<sup>72</sup>

During the thirteen or fourteen years when G. and I had no certain dwelling place, we experienced, at times, hardships that I have no wish to dwell upon, and in writing I have passed over many of them in silence. What fell to my share I can recall to mind without regret, but G. had more than his share of them, and, at times, I cannot think of the trials that he went through with without feelings of sadness, for they wore out his strong constitution and I believe shortened his life.

But I trust it is well with him now, and it affords me great satisfaction to know that he never regretted coming to the land of the Dakotas.

[To be continued]

<sup>72</sup> Samuel moved in December, 1847, into a frame house he had built at "Prairieville." See his letter to Greene, January 18, 1848, in the American Board transcripts. A description of the mission there and an account of Pond's manner of talking to Shakopee are in Pond, *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, 184-187.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE PAUL BUNYAN TALES

THE QUESTION raised by Mr. Carleton C. Ames in his article on "Paul Bunyan—Myth or Hoax?," published in the March issue of this magazine, has been the subject of extensive comment in Minnesota newspapers. Among those publishing editorials on the theme are the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of April 10, the *Minneapolis Star-Journal* of April 11, the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer* of April 13, the *Duluth Herald* of April 17, the *Lake Wilson Pilot* of April 18, and the *Minneapolis Times-Tribune* of April 19. The writers of most of these comments take the attitude that Mr. Ames is attempting to "debunk" the mythical hero of the lumberjacks; others, however, make it clear that his criticism "is not an attack on Paul but a doubt as to the age of the stories themselves." Mr. Ames restates his case in the *Bemidji Pioneer* of April 19, asserting that his purpose "was simply to raise the question as to whether the Paul Bunyan legend has come up out of the woods and the logging camps, or whether it has been superimposed upon them."

The *Pioneer Press* of April 10 appeals for "evidence that stories about Bunyan were told in the period from 1860 to 1890." Something approaching such evidence is offered by Mr. Raymond Jackson of Minneapolis in a recent letter to the editor of this magazine. He reports an interview with Mr. Fred Staples of Lakeland, the "only real lumberjack left of my acquaintance, now eighty-seven years of age." He is a son of Winslow Staples and a nephew of Isaac Staples, "two brothers who came to Minnesota from Maine to cut trees . . . and sawed them into lumber at Stillwater through the logging days in Minnesota history." "I was fifty years in the woods and can't remember when I didn't know about

Paul Bunyan," asserts Mr. Staples. "I started driving a team for Uncle Isaac when I was sixteen years old," he continues, "and I heard about Paul Bunyan the very first winter I was in the woods." Mr. Jackson believes that Mr. Staples' evidence "would seem to authenticate the existence of Paul Bunyan in the lumber camps of Minnesota and Wisconsin as far back as the seventies."

One of the most interesting comments inspired by Mr. Ames's article comes from Mr. W. B. Laughead of Westwood, California, the author of a booklet on *The Marvelous Exploits of Paul Bunyan* published by the Red River Lumber Company in 1922. Part of his letter, which appears in full in the *Bemidji Pioneer* for May 1, follows:

When The Red River Lumber Company started using Paul Bunyan stories in their advertising in 1914 it was soon learned that Paul was unknown to the general public and to the distributors and sawmill people of the lumber industry. The stories were known only to loggers and many loggers had not heard of them. My own experience in the camps around Bemidji and on the upper Mississippi dated from 1900 and that is where I first heard of Paul Bunyan. In 1901 I heard the tales again from Michigan loggers in California. These men had gone to California from Michigan some 15 years before that time.

In 1920 Mr. Henry L. Neall, then well along in years, wrote to The Red River Lumber Company that he had heard Paul Bunyan stories when a boy in his grandfather's camps in Pennsylvania and that his grandfather referred to them as old traditions.

Paul's exploits are seldom told in narrative form. Some one in a group refers to something Paul did in a casual, offhand way as if to some well known event like Washington crossing the Delaware or Columbus discovering the New World. Another takes it up, perhaps arguing about some detail. Extemporaneous embellishments come into the conversation which becomes a lying contest. In this way local color and modernization creep in.

There is an extensive version in the oil fields full of the trade slang of the drillers, "The Buttermilk Gusher," "The 48-inch Casing From India," etc. Some of the old pine loggers ranged wide as itinerant laborers, sticking to frontiers, and evidently some strays reached the oil fields. It is said that there are locally colored stories of Paul Bunyan in the West Indies.

Research by individuals and institutions have failed to reveal the origin of the Paul Bunyan stories. They appear in the Eastern States prior to the Lake States era of the pine industry. Mention of Paul

Bunyan occurs in letters to newspapers and lumber trade journals but so far as shown by investigation up to this time the publications of The Red River Lumber Company, dating from 1914 were the first compilations. . . .

I regret that I can add no conclusive evidence but none has come my way in 25 years of contact and correspondence with students of the Paul Bunyan myth.

Dr. M. M. Quaife, secretary and editor of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library and professor of history in Wayne University, found Mr. Ames's article of special interest because, he writes, "somewhat over a year ago I tackled this same subject with conclusions substantially identical with those reached by Mr. Ames." With his letter Dr. Quaife enclosed a copy of his article, which appeared in the *Detroit Saturday Night* of February 11, 1939. It will be reprinted in a future issue of *Minnesota History*. "I recommended Mr. Ames's article to my history class in Wayne University," Dr. Quaife remarks, "as illustrative both of historical method and of the necessity of employing it in our everyday literary and personal contacts with life. This is another way of saying that I appreciate the article very highly."

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania.* By SOLON J. BUCK and ELIZABETH HAWTHORN BUCK. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939. xiv, 555 p. Illustrations, maps. \$5.00.)

Recently several notable contributions to state and municipal history have done much to rescue this form of historical research from the disrepute in which it has long been held. Once the product chiefly of devotees of genealogy and of the untrained, urban and state histories are beginning to receive some of the consideration which for years has been accorded national and, in a lesser degree, regional or sectional studies. The present-day interest is, in part, the outgrowth of an impetus given by the appearance about twenty years ago of scholarly works such as the *Centennial History of Illinois*, to which one of the authors of the book under review contributed.

In the *Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* Dr. and Mrs. Buck have demonstrated how "local" history should be written. Although they have covered ground traversed by other historians, they have treated their subject with great and interesting detail. They have made use of the materials assembled by other reputable scholars, but they have also brought to light hitherto untapped sources. The result of their examination has been an enriched understanding of the subject surveyed.

The book is, in part, a product of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey of which Dr. Buck was director from 1931 to 1935, and is intended primarily for the general reader. After considering both historical and physiographic aspects of the state, the authors through their narrative give significance to the term "western Pennsylvania" beyond the confines of the western part of that commonwealth. There, at an early day, one found Europeans and their American descendants, their culture that of western Europe and the near East of the Atlantic seaboard. The economy was agricultural, and, in due order, the foundations were laid for the gradual beginnings of industrialism and finally the growth of a complicated urbanism.

The stages of settlement through which western Pennsylvania

passed and the periods of development seem to follow in general the pattern of other parts of the country at a similar time and under similar conditions. From 1790 to 1815 came the transit of the original self-sufficient agricultural economy to an industrial economy based largely on the manufacture of commodities for the outside world. Just as in many new communities, the early commerce of western Pennsylvania was financed mainly by outside capital, and this capital frequently took the form of credit to importers. By 1812 the expansion of agriculture and the domestic industries supplied a surplus for export. Markets were opened, transportation facilities were developed, and the capital which had been accumulated by merchants and others was available for investment in industry. Banks and other evidences of a growing industrialized life were found; skilled laborers were imported or trained; workingmen attempted to strengthen their bargaining power by organization; lawyers, judges, and physicians trained abroad as well as at Princeton, Dickinson College, and other American educational institutions gave promise of the sophistication of older places; and the fifty years from about 1765 to 1815 witnessed the implanting of the refinements of life in general.

These remarks should not be concluded without mentioning the physical attractiveness of this well-written volume, the excellent bibliographical essay, and the carefully selected illustrations and maps. It is to be hoped that there will be studies of other communities built on like lines, and that at some future time Dr. and Mrs. Buck will continue the story of western Pennsylvania.

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

*Dictionary of American History*, vols. 1-4. JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, editor in chief; R. V. COLEMAN, managing editor. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. xi, 444, 430, 432, 512 p.)

After only four years of labor, four of the projected five volumes of the *Dictionary of American History* have appeared and the final volume is scheduled for publication this year. This is a remarkable achievement for American scholarship, involving, as it did, the collaboration of more than a thousand historians in the writing of five to six



thousand articles. The work was accomplished under the editorial direction of James Truslow Adams and R. V. Coleman with the help of an advisory council of seventeen.

Only within the last generation has a work such as the *Dictionary of American History* been possible. Had it been attempted a few decades earlier, the result probably would have been merely a collection of dates and of accounts of battles, treaties, and political events. As it is, the wide scope of the subjects treated attest to the extension of historical scholarship over every aspect of our culture.

Though the *Dictionary* will be found to be very useful when specific information about forts, treaties, and battles is desired, its distinction lies in the inclusion of subjects in the fields of social, cultural, intellectual, and economic history. The variety of subjects discussed cannot well be indicated in a brief review; nevertheless a sampling from volume 1 may indicate the scope of the articles. Administrative justice, the agrarian movement, the department of agriculture, the siege and fall of the Alamo, almanacs, the American Fur Company, anaesthesia, the Anti-horse Thief Association, apple culture, and American architecture are topics garnered by turning through the first hundred pages of the volume at intervals of about ten pages. The articles range chronologically from "Cabot Voyages" to "Economic Royalists." One will search in vain, however, for any subject not related to the history of the United States. There is, for example, no article on Columbus.

The editor in chief takes pains to point out that the work is a dictionary and not an encyclopedia. The reader who is interested in tracing the succession of events will not find the *Dictionary* serviceable. The subjects treated are definite, limited aspects of our history. Yet "covering articles" of broader scope have been provided wherever a general treatment of a subject was thought necessary. These discussions are intended as guides to articles on individual phases of the subjects. There is a general article on amusements with cross references to yachting, prize fighting, baseball, football, bicycling, automobiles, motion pictures, radios, national parks, theaters, horse racing, cockfighting, husking bees, minstrel shows, circuses, and sports. Card playing, dancing, bowling, fishing, billiards, hockey, and golf were not considered important or significant enough to warrant separate articles.

The specialist in one field of American history will find the *Dic-*

*tionary* useful for terms outside his own specialty. Local or regional terms abound. In the field of Minnesota history, articles on the Mayo Foundation, by President Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota, on Fort Beauharnois, the Leech Lake Indian council, and Grand Portage, by Grace Lee Nute, on the Faribault claim, the Dustin murders, and the battles of Birch Cooley, Crow Wing, Kaposia, and Mille Lacs, by Willoughby M. Babcock, and on the Hazelwood Republic, by Ruth Thompson, indicate the extent to which the *Dictionary* has included regional topics and made use of regional specialists.

Minnesota scholars made large contributions to the *Dictionary*. Professors Harold S. Quigley, Ernest S. Osgood, Charles B. Kuhlmann, Edgar B. Wesley, and George M. Stephenson supplied numerous articles, and Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, acted as one of the seventeen members of the advisory board, in addition to contributing several articles, including that on Minnesota. These historians may well take pride in their contribution to such a distinguished product of joint scholarship as is the *Dictionary of American History*.

LEWIS BEESON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

*The British Régime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-1796.* By NELSON VANCE RUSSELL, Ph. D., professor of American history in Carleton College. (Northfield, Minnesota, Carleton College, 1939. xi, 302 p. \$2.00.)

In his preface Dr. Russell himself divides his book into two parts by saying, "In Chapters I and II, both of which are in a sense introductory, and in Chapters VIII and IX no serious effort has been made at original investigation." In chapters 4 to 7, which bear respectively the titles, "The Problems of Provincial Administration," "Economic and Social Beginnings," "The French and British at Play," and "Transportation and Naval Defense," Dr. Russell has made a series of detailed source studies of events and conditions in the neighborhood of the post of Detroit, such as the titles would indicate. This work is generally sound and well done, although at times the presentation is a little confused. The student will find it interesting and useful. In a lesser sense this is true of chapter 10, "The End of the Régime."

The remaining chapters which supply the justification for the larger reaches of Dr. Russell's title retell an established story along conventional lines. With a justified admiration of Clarence W. Alvord's great *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, however, which he uses to give depth to his picture of pioneer Detroit, Dr. Russell is apparently not aware of the modifications which the work of Namier and others have made necessary in Alvord's theories of government by faction and Canada versus Guadalupe. There are quite a few minor inaccuracies in Dr. Russell's work. His bibliography is good if not complete.

THEODORE C. PEASE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
URBANA

*Iron Brew: A Century of American Ore and Steel.* By STEWART H. HOLBROOK. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939. viii, 352 p. \$2.50.)

This author will have his brew potent or know the reason why. No modest draught of commonplace history for him, but a concoction that makes the ears pound and the eyes see multiple! It is compounded of the usual basic stock of facts about the discovery, development, production, and producers of iron and steel, mixed with a heady yeast of frothy incident from the lives and careers of kidnapers, prostitutes, Great Lakes sailors, thugs, gangsters, red-shirted lumbermen, tellers of tall tales, inventors, money kings, magnates of big business, and a few normal human beings.

For Minnesotans the interest centers about chapters 7 to 15, which include: "Old Stuntz Cruises the Hills," "Saga of the Merritt Boys," "The Great Mesabi Pox," "Boom-Town Life," "Trouble on the Range," and "Red-Bellies Down the Lakes." Of only less interest are the first chapters, dealing with the epic discovery of ore in Michigan and Wisconsin.

As usual in his writing, Mr. Holbrook makes his style dramatic by choosing only such historic facts and persons as he can fill with zestful life; by employing unusual terms, "robust" language, and comments full of understatement and innuendo, such as, "Nobody but God was to blame [for the mine disaster] at Milford, and if anyone got the blame at Ishpeming, two years later, it was God, too"; and by such journalistic tricks as assuming a friendly familiarity with his char-

acters, calling them by their first names, and telling of great and tragic events through the medium of simple and, often, helpless persons.

Such books as this have a definite place on the history shelf, especially if the owner of the shelf is young and needs a little *apéritif* to enhance his taste for the subject.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

*Hamline University.* Edited by CHARLES NELSON PACE, president, Hamline University. (St. Paul, Hamline University Alumni Association, 1939. 142 p. Illustrations.)

This volume is published in connection with the eighty-fifth anniversary last year of the founding of Hamline University in 1854. It is the story of the oldest school of higher learning in Minnesota, and while it does not pretend to be a complete history, the papers included in the book give a satisfactory yet modest account of the early beginnings in Red Wing, the second founding in St. Paul, the development of the institution under Presidents Bridgman and Kerfoot, and one or two especially significant aspects of Hamline's program.

The early period at Red Wing lasted from March 3, 1854, to March 4, 1869. Mrs. Arthur W. Johnson, a graduate of Hamline and a resident of Red Wing, has written a compact synopsis of how Hamline began under a charter granted by the Minnesota territorial legislature, how it struggled through the Civil War period under the leadership of Dr. Jabez Brooks, and how it was suddenly closed after the graduation of the tenth class because of financial embarrassment, loss of students during the Civil War, and lack of interest.

Hamline University reopened in 1880 in St. Paul, with President D. C. John at the helm. After three years the main building of the college burned to the ground, the president resigned, and the outlook was discouraging. At this point, the trustees elected Dr. George Henry Bridgman, aged forty-two, to the presidency, and from that time Hamline began to rise above its difficulties and to respond to the magnificent leadership of one who would never admit defeat. The history of this great period, from 1883 to 1912, is presented in a charming manner by Dr. Bridgman's daughter, Mrs. Dorothy Bridgman Atkinson.

From 1912 to 1927, Hamline's leader was Samuel Fletcher Kerfoot, and during these years nine hundred young people received the Hamline degree. This part of the history is sympathetically reviewed by Dr. Miron Morrill, a close friend of Dr. Kerfoot and formerly dean of men at Hamline.

Dr. James S. King, professor of German, contributes an interesting paper on the faculty, educational policies, and student life since 1901. Dr. Thomas Beyer, professor of English, writes of the creative life at Hamline that has been unusually prominent in the record of the college and is in large measure due to his own stimulating teaching. The more personal elements of the Hamline history are related by Dr. Frank A. Cone, a member of the class of 1886 and a trustee since 1902, who for more than fifty years has been closely associated with the university.

Dr. Charles Nelson Pace, now president of Hamline, has acted as editor of the volume and has drawn together carefully prepared and interestingly written papers. As one of the writers suggests, no modern institution is the shadow of one man only. After reading this challenging history one feels the enduring power of a college like Hamline University, into the building of which has gone "the brawn, the mind, the anguish of spirit of hosts of men and women."

CHARLES J. TURCK

MACALESTER COLLEGE  
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

*Sketches by Paul Kane in the Indian Country, 1845-1848* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 99, no. 1). By DAVID I. BUSHNELL, JR. (Washington, The Smithsonian Institution, 1940. 25 p. Illustrations.)

*Paul Kane.* By ALBERT H. ROBSON. (Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1938. 32 p. Illustrations.)

Among the pioneer artists who followed in the footsteps of George Catlin by visiting the native red men in their primitive surroundings and leaving records of their observations in word and picture was the Canadian, Paul Kane. His work is the subject of the present booklets, which contain records of the itineraries followed by Kane on two journeys from Toronto to the Indian country. The first, made in 1845, took the artist as far as Lake Winnebago and the Fox River

country of Wisconsin; the second, occupying the period from May, 1846, to October, 1848, covered much of the Canadian West. Fort Garry, Fort Vancouver on the Pacific coast, Fort Edmonton, and Fort William on Lake Superior were among the points visited on the later trip.

On Kane's return to Toronto, the writers reveal, he painted twelve pictures of Indian interest for Sir George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company, twelve for the British government, and a hundred for George W. Allan. The latter collection was eventually acquired by Dr. E. B. Osler, who presented it to the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology in Toronto. Four of these paintings are reproduced in Mr. Robson's little volume, which includes eight color plates from Kane's canvases. Of unusual interest for Minnesotans are his views of the Red River settlement and of a portage on the Winnipeg River.

To one picture in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, that of a "Sioux Scalp Dance," Mr. Bushnell gives special mention (p. 23), for in the background appears Fort Snelling, which Kane had never seen. The author reveals that the "picture of the fort was based on a sketch made by the artist Henry Lewis in 1846 or 1848, a small copy of which he sent to Kane." This interesting drawing, made on a page of a letter from Lewis to Kane, is reproduced with Mr. Bushnell's narrative. Other illustrations show some of Kane's field sketches of western scenes and natives. All are made from originals in Mr. Bushnell's possession.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

DR. GRACE LEE NUTE ("A British Legal Case and Old Grand Portage") is curator of manuscripts on the society's staff. She is the author of a volume on *The Voyageur* and of numerous articles, and she has recently completed a biography of the French explorers Radisson and Groseilliers. Dr. Theodore C. Blegen ("Two Missionaries in the Sioux Country") continues in this issue the "Narrative of Samuel W. Pond," the first installment of which appeared in the March number. Miss Bertha L. Heilbron ("A Pioneer Artist on Lake Superior") is the assistant editor of this magazine. Among those who contribute to the discussion of "The Paul Bunyan Tales," initiated by Mr. Carleton C. Ames in the March issue, are Mr. W. B. Laughead of Westwood, California, whose early compilation of these stories has passed through ten editions, Mr. Raymond A. Jackson of Minneapolis, and Dr. M. M. Quaife of the Burton Historical Collection and Wayne University, Detroit. The reviewers include Dr. Bessie Louise Pierce, associate professor of American history in the University of Chicago; Dr. Lewis Beeson, acting head of the society's newspaper department; Dr. Theodore C. Pease, professor of history in the University of Illinois and editor of the *Collections* of the Illinois State Library; and Dr. Charles J. Turck, president of Macalester College, St. Paul.

Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the society from 1931 to 1939 and assistant superintendent from 1922 to 1931, was named dean of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota by the board of regents on May 10. Since last July, when he resigned as superintendent, he has been engaged in research and writing in the field of American immigration history, under a fellowship awarded by the Norwegian-American Historical Association. He has served on the history faculties of both Hamline University and the University of Minnesota. Dr. Blegen will assume his new duties as dean on August 15.

Tentative plans for the eighteenth annual summer tour and convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society call

for a trip to the iron range country of northeastern Minnesota on August 9, 10, and 11, 1940. The fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the iron deposits of the Mesabi Range is being marked this year, and it will be the occasion for special celebrations at Mountain Iron and Biwabik on August 10 and 11. Plans are being made for the society's participation in programs at these places and for probable sessions at Grand Rapids, Hibbing, and Tower.

The new cover design, used for the first time on the March issue of *Minnesota History*, has drawn some gratifying comments from readers of the society's magazine. "For a good many years I have been laboring under the impression that our historical periodicals, like our historical lectures, are all too often needlessly stodgy and uninviting," writes Dr. Milo M. Quaife, secretary and editor of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library. "While your own magazine has always been put out in attractive fashion," he continues, "I think the new cover constitutes a further step in the right direction." Professor Horace Morse, assistant to the dean of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota, comments as follows: "You have retained the magazine's dignity and improved its appearance." Dr. Charles M. Gates of the department of history in the University of Washington finds the cover "very modern and attractive," and suggests that the society's quarterly "should find a place on many library tables throughout the state." Speaking "as one who has wrestled with the problems of cover design," Mr. J. G. Cohen of Minneapolis, executive editor of *Modern Medicine* and publisher of other medical and dental journals, asserts that the new design gives the "reader the feeling of a readable publication that is modern and interesting, yet scholarly in content." While *Minnesota History* is now "inviting to pick up and read," in the opinion of this correspondent, "nothing is taken away from the design to reflect on the dignity of the content of the magazine as devoted to the past, and not to the present or future." In concluding, Mr. Cohen writes: "It is so easy to justify a staid old cover, particularly with a Historical Society, that I feel you are to be complimented on making this change."

Dr. Blegen's essay on the "'Fashionable Tour' on the Upper Mississippi," which appeared in the issue of this magazine for December, 1939, is the subject of more than a half column of comment on the



editorial page of the *New York Sun* for April 1. What amounts to an abstract of the article is presented. The writer asserts that the "Fashionable Tour" proposed by Catlin in 1835 marked the beginning of "touring for pleasure in this country."

Dr. Charles M. Gates, a former member of the society's staff, is the author of the leading article in the March issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*—a study of "The West in American Diplomacy, 1812-1815." Dr. Gates, who is now assistant professor of history in the University of Washington, served as acting curator of manuscripts during Dr. Nute's absence in Europe in 1935-36.

Professor John T. Flanagan's article on "Knut Hamsun's Early Years in the Northwest," which appeared in the issue of this magazine for December, 1939 (*ante*, 20:397-412), drew a letter of comment from the Norwegian author whose activities it recounts. Under date of February 28, 1940, he wrote to Dr. Flanagan, acknowledging a copy of the article. Hamsun's note, in translation, reads as follows: "I thank you for the magazine which you sent me. In your article about me you have gathered with unexampled care a mass of data which were wholly new to me or completely forgotten by myself. But so much scientific work on my humble account!"

The additions to the active membership of the society made in the first quarter of 1940 include one life member, Mr. Frederick S. Bailey of Ontario, Oregon; one sustaining member, Mrs. William R. Bagley of Duluth; and twenty-seven annual members. The names of the latter follow: Mrs. W. H. Barber of Miami Beach, Florida, Lewis Beeson of Minneapolis, S. D. Catherwood of Austin, George Hage of Madelia, Ivan O. Hansen of Luverne, Hiram A. Haskell of Windsor, California, Mrs. D. N. Kingery of St. Paul, Ruth F. Lambert of St. Paul, R. H. Landon of St. Paul, Leona B. Larsen of Dorset, Sister Laurent of Minneapolis, Martin Leaf of Willmar, Josephine Lutz of Minneapolis, Arthur McGinnis of St. Paul, Mrs. Eugene W. Martin of Minneapolis, Lester E. Nelson of Minneapolis, Henry B. Peterson of Minneapolis, Robert D. Rasmussen of Minneapolis, Nelson Vance Russell of Northfield, Mrs. Benjamin Sandy of Minneapolis, Charles N. Sayles of Faribault, Lawrence Schmeckebier of Minneapolis, O. D. Sell of Mayer, Mrs. C. F. Stickney of Traverse

City, Michigan, Colonel Frederick G. Stutz of St. Paul, Mrs. Lyman E. Wakefield of Minneapolis, and Otto E. Wieland of Duluth.

The Becker County Historical Society of Detroit Lakes and the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society of Lake City have been enrolled as institutional members of the society.

In the first three months of 1940, the society lost the following active members by death: Dr. Henry L. Osborn of St. Paul, January 2; Dr. Arvid Gordh of St. Paul, January 4; Clifford P. Fitch of St. Paul, January 11; Alice E. Whitmore of Minneapolis, January 11; Mrs. Edward B. Young of St. Paul, January 14; Judge Richard A. Walsh of St. Paul, January 18; Frederick E. Murphy of Minneapolis, February 14; George W. Gauthier of St. Paul, February 26; Percy E. Barber of St. Paul, March 8; and A. C. Ochs of Springfield, March 8.

The first number of the *Minnesota Local History Bulletin*, which is intended to supplement the notes published in the section of this magazine devoted to "Local Historical Societies," was issued by the society in February. This is a mimeographed sheet "devoted to the interests and problems of the local historical societies of the state." It will appear in February, May, August, and November.

The society's valentine collection is the subject of an illustrated article in the *Minneapolis Times-Tribune* for February 13. A special exhibit of valentines was arranged in the society's museum in February. In the same month Washington and Lincoln exhibits were displayed. The latter, which included materials owned both by the society and by Mr. Ernest R. Reiff of North St. Paul, is described in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 12.

The superintendent spoke on "Local History and the Writers' Project" before workers of the Minnesota Writers' Project in Minneapolis on January 17, on the Good Roads movement in Minnesota before the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society at Lake City on February 13 and the Blue Earth County Historical Society at Mankato on March 11, on "Community Records" before the Wright County Old Settlers and Washington Birthday Association at Delano on February 22, on "A Pioneer Minnesota Feminist," Jane Grey Swisshelm, before the Junior Librarians of the Twin Cities meeting

in St. Paul on February 24 and the Bald Eagle Women's Club on March 19, and on "A Laboratory for the Social Studies" before the third annual Social Studies Conference at the University of Minnesota on March 9. He was interviewed on the work of the society over radio station WTCN in St. Paul on March 12. A few days earlier, on March 8, Dr. Nute was interviewed over the same station on early maps and pioneer women. She gave addresses on "The Voyageur" before the Dakota County Historical and Archeological Society at South St. Paul on January 9 and before the Mother's Club of Alpha Gamma Delta in Minneapolis on March 14, on "Minnesota Women Make the News" before the Faculty Women's Club of the University of Minnesota on March 16, and on "Wilderness Marthas" before the Business Girls Club of the St. Paul YWCA on March 26. The curator of the museum spoke on "Community Memory" before the Nicollet County Historical Society at St. Peter on January 11 and before the Olmsted County Historical Society at Rochester on February 10, and on "Exploring Community Back-grounds" before an assembly of Gustavus Adolphus College at St. Peter on January 12. The latter talk was broadcast over station KYSM.

#### ACCESSIONS

A passport issued to Charles Augustus Collier on February 22, 1837, permitting him to travel in France, has been presented by Mrs. C. W. Seng of St. Paul, through the courtesy of Mr. Frederic A. Conger. Instead of a picture of Collier, the document presents a detailed description, and it requests all concerned to pass him safely and freely and "in case of need to give him all lawful Aid and Protection."

Articles on General James Shields, St. Patrick's Day celebrations in Minnesota, western exploration, Catholic colonization companies in Minnesota, and other subjects relating to the history of the Catholic church in the state are to be found in a file of the *Boston Pilot* for the years from 1854 to 1865 which has been recently photographed for the society. Included are numerous letters from Anoka, Hastings, Blue Earth, St. Paul, and other Catholic parishes. From St. Paul, for example, comes a letter published in the issue of November 8, 1856, which tells of the building of the cathedral and the city hall

and anticipates the completion of a city gas plant in the following words: "We look forward to enjoy the pleasure and luxury of gas lights next spring." In 1856 also Father Francis de Vivaldi, a missionary among the Winnebago, wrote from Blue Earth of his plans for a Minnesota colony for Catholics who were being persecuted by members of the Know-Nothing party. He promised a free town lot to each of the first two hundred and fifty Catholic families who settled in the colony, which was to be located on the territorial road between Reads Landing and Mankato.

A short but important diary, kept from 1856 to 1861 by Richard J. Mendenhall and his wife, has been presented by Mrs. Gertrude Murtfeldt of Minneapolis, through the courtesy of Mr. Edward C. Gale of the same city. Mendenhall, a Quaker from North Carolina, settled in Minneapolis in 1856 and established a reputation there as a banker, a surveyor, and the city's pioneer florist. In his diary he tells of his arrival in Minneapolis, of land speculation and surveying in the Sauk and Red River valleys and in southern Minnesota, of investing in Minnesota lands for southern and eastern patrons, of losses in the panic of 1857, and of various aspects of pioneer life. Mrs. Mendenhall's entries relate to domestic and social life and to Quaker meetings and activities. With the diary are a number of papers that are unique in the society's collection—the manumission papers of a Negro woman and affidavits showing her son Jerry to be a "free boy." After a visit to North Carolina, Mendenhall took the boy to Minnesota as a servant, and he was obliged to present "bond and security" on the railroad proving that Jerry was legally in his company.

The original manuscript of Benjamin Densmore's journal of an expedition from St. Paul to the Otter Tail region in 1857, which was published in this magazine for November, 1919 (see *ante*, 3: 167-209), has been presented by the Misses Frances and Margaret Densmore of Red Wing. Their gift includes also a copy of Densmore's Civil War discharge papers and a letter written to him by Thompson Ritchie on November 25, 1859, from Superior. On the letterhead is an interesting picture of the Wisconsin settlement bearing the descriptive caption, "Terminus of Ocean Navigation, and the Northern Pacific, St. Croix and Lake Superior, Milwaukee and Horicon, and other Railroads." These are important additions to the already extensive collection of Densmore Papers in the society's possession.

Three letters written by George W. Smith shortly after settling in Minnesota in 1857 have been received from Mr. Michael J. Peters of Dover, New Hampshire. In them the writer tells members of his family in the East of land speculation in Minnesota and other matters of local interest. He describes, for example, a March day in 1858 when cabbage plants were "half an inch high" and men talked of "going to ploughing next week."

Photographic copies of three letters written by George H. Button, a native of Vermont, in 1859, after visiting St. Paul, Minneapolis, and St. Anthony, have been made for the society from originals owned by the La Crosse County Historical Society. "I like the town much better than any other place I have seen of its size in the west," writes Button of St. Paul. "There are several first class hotels & a theatre. . . . the streets are lighted with gas and taking evry thing into consideration the town is a pretty fast one." After attending the theater in St. Paul, the writer commented: "I suppose it could not be called a first class institution in New York but will answer very well for a western town."

Twenty pages of statistical records of Norwegian settlement in Minnesota have been photographed from originals lent by Professor Carlton C. Qualey of Bard College. He compiled the figures for the number of Norwegians in every township in Minnesota that has Norwegian settlers from the manuscript schedules of the United States census for 1860 and 1870, in the possession of the society.

Programs of more than sixty concerts given by the St. Paul Musical Society from 1863 to 1879 are included in a scrapbook presented by Mrs. Charles W. Gordon of St. Paul. It was formerly the property of George Seibert, director of the society's orchestra after 1869. In the record are programs of concerts presented at Ingersoll's Hall, at the opening of the opera houses of St. Paul and Minneapolis in 1867, and of a special performance given for the benefit of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair in 1864. With the gift are a few of the business papers of Richards Gordon, a member of the St. Paul Musical Society's orchestra, and a record of his service in the St. Paul fire department in 1875. Mrs. Gordon also has presented several documents indicative of Charles W. Gordon's interest in civic and national

Theodore Roosevelt. To the society's already extensive numismatic collection, she has added some thirty Roman and Greek coins.

The papers of Judge Willard R. Cray of Minneapolis, covering the period from 1877 to 1904 and consisting of legal papers and correspondence that fill two boxes and two volumes, have been presented by his daughter, Miss Jessie Cray of Minneapolis. They include material on litigations that involved the Washburn Crosby Company and the Minnesota Sandstone Company in the 1890's, and numerous letters from Frank B. Kellogg, Charles M. Loring, John Washburn, and others. The constitution and bylaws of the Bachelors Club of Minneapolis, organized in 1877, of which Cray was a member, also are included in the gift.

To a collection in memory of Mrs. Marshall Coolidge, established in 1934 by the Monument chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Minneapolis (see *ante*, 15:343), Mrs. Lester McCoy of Minneapolis has added a ledger kept by Dr. Otis M. Humphrey from 1871 to 1882. This record of a Minneapolis physician's visits to patients reveals that he usually charged two dollars for a day call, four dollars for a night visit, a dollar for a prescription, fifteen dollars for setting a broken leg, and fifteen dollars for obstetrical attendance. It is interesting to note that accounts of forty-two dollars in 1879 and of fifteen dollars in 1880 were balanced, in lieu of cash, by "7 cords of maple wood" and "10 loads of slab wood."

Copies of sixteen speeches and articles, dating from 1895 to 1916, by Alpheus B. Stickney, lawyer, railroad builder, and member of the St. Paul Park Commission, have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Paul Weed of St. Paul. Among the subjects dealt with are railroad rates under the Interstate Commerce Act, banking legislation, and the development in St. Paul of a system of parks and scenic boulevards.

The papers of the Minnesota School of Missions for the years from 1907 to 1934, comprising four volumes and one box of manuscripts, have been presented by Mrs. Karl Moulton of Minneapolis. They include a constitution, bylaws, minutes of meetings, financial reports, news items, and the like, and they relate for the most part to the organization's sponsorship of an interdenominational summer school

of missionary education held at Lake Minnetonka and in various Twin City churches.

The Linden Hills Congregational Church of Minneapolis has presented a volume of its records for the years from 1909 to 1932, through the courtesy of Mr. Paul J. Thompson of Minneapolis. It contains data on the organization of the church, membership, baptisms, marriages, and congregational meetings.

A copy of a "Brief History of the Lewis Settlement in Duluth," prepared by Alexander Macrae for publication in the *Stornoway Gazette* in Scotland, has been presented by the author. He tells of William L. MacLennan, the earliest settler from the Isle of Lewis to make his home in Duluth, and lists later settlers from the same locality. The organization in 1911 of the Lewis Society of Duluth, of which Mr. Macrae is secretary, also is described.

The records of the first case involving disability compensation handled under the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1913 have been added to the archives of the Minnesota Industrial Commission in the custody of the society (see *ante*, 20:434). They show that an employee who was receiving \$11.50 a week in wages was awarded \$36.00 as a result of an absence from work from October 9 to December 4, 1913.

The Minnesota Academy of Medicine, through its secretary, Dr. A. G. Schulze, has presented a volume of minutes for the years 1932-37.

Four filing boxes of genealogical material relating to the Ramsey, Kincaid, Newby, McKee, Morrison, Poage, and forty-four other families, assembled by the late Edward G. Chapman of Minneapolis, have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Walter C. Robb of Minneapolis. The collection consists chiefly of an extensive correspondence with members of these families in all parts of the United States, and Chapman's notes on items located in newspapers and books.

A copy of a master's thesis on "The Rise of Organized Labor in Minnesota, 1850-1890," prepared by George B. Engberg at the University of Minnesota in 1939, has been presented by the author.

The Hennepin County Bar Association has presented biographical sketches of the following deceased members: Harry G. Amick, Elijah

Barton, Austin I. Bergman, Frank W. Booth, Willard R. Cray, John F. Dahl, Knute T. Dahlen, Alvord C. Egelston, Maurice V. Evans, Henry J. Fletcher, Charles H. Hubbell, Charles T. Kenfield, Carol H. McHugh, Thomas Mouer, Thomas Peebles, Wilfred A. Quinlivan, John M. Rees, Herbert F. Schoening, Richard L. Tighe, and William H. Vanderburgh.

Mr. H. P. Schoen of Hastings has presented a druggist's counter scale and weights from an early drugstore at Hastings.

An oil portrait of the late Everett H. Bailey, treasurer of the Minnesota Historical Society from 1909 to 1938, is the gift of his son and daughter-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick S. Bailey of Ontario, Oregon. They have also presented an engraved portrait of Greenleaf Clark, a pioneer St. Paul lawyer and jurist. Other recent additions to the portrait collection include an engraving of William S. Chown, a member of the first Minnesota state legislature, from the Minnesota Education Association; photographs of Hugo V. Koch and Dr. H. Longstreet Taylor, from Miss Theresa Erickson of Minneapolis; a copy of a picture of Little Crow, the Sioux chief, from S. D. Catherwood of Austin; and photographs of individuals connected with the Poehler grain interests of Minneapolis, from Miss Vera Cole of that city.

An oil painting of Fort Snelling executed by Seth Eastman about 1840 has been photographed for the society by the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, through the courtesy of the executor of the estate of the late Gouverneur Kemble. Mr. Otto E. Wieland of Duluth has presented a photograph of a painting of Beaver Bay in 1870. Several photographs of old Fort Garry, near the present site of Winnipeg, have been received from Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul.

A large number of volumes in the field of American family history were added to the society's genealogical collection in the first three months of 1940. They include Katherine A. Bryan, *Genealogy of the Baltzly-Balsley-Polsley Family* (Columbus, Ohio, 1939. 380 p.); Irvin M. Beaver, *History and Genealogy of the Bieber, Beaver, Biever, Beeber Family* (Reading, Pennsylvania, 1939. 984 p.); Vinnetta W. Ranke, *Blackburn Genealogy; With Notes on the Washington Family through Inter-marriage* (Washington, 1939. 158 p.);



Charles C. Boyer, *American Boyers* (Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1940. 663 p.); Russell H. Pope, *Burdick-Tucker-Pope, 1630-1932; Ancestral Lines* (Oakville, Connecticut, 1932. 27 p.); William D. Mangam, *The Clarks of Montana* (Washington, 1939. 221 p.); Lucy L. Erwin, *Ancestry of William Clopton of York County, Virginia* (Rutland, 1939. 333 p.); E. Glenn Denison, *Denison Genealogy; A Record of the Ancestors and Descendants of James Post Denison* (Attleboro, Massachusetts, 1939. 118 p.); Mansfield J. French, *Ancestors and Descendants of Samuel French, the Joiner of Stratford, Connecticut* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1940. 354 p.); Ned B. Smith, *Heiser Genealogy, 1783 to 1937* (Youngstown, Ohio, 1937. 22 p.); Max E. Hoffman, *Hoffmans of North Carolina* (Asheville, North Carolina, 1938. 192 p.); Melvin E. Jones, *Ancestral Lines* (1938. 107 p.); John M. Kline, *Descendants of Hans (Johannus) Klein* (Washington, 1939. 22 p.); Le Roy Kramer, *Johann Baltasar Kramer . . . Pioneer American Glass Blower* (Chicago, 1939. 62 p.); Hallock P. Long, *A Long Genealogy. A Partial Genealogy of the Longs of Charlestown and Nantucket, Massachusetts* (Washington, 1937. 28 p.); Albert Rathbone, *Archibald McClure and Elizabeth Craigmiles, His Wife* (New York, 1938. 38 p.); William H. McCoy, *Notes on the McCoy Family* (Rutland, Vermont, 1939. 23 p.); Charles E. Dean, *Genealogy of a Tribe of Noble Patriots, Morris-Beck-Dean-Chipley* (New Orleans, 1935. 74 p.); Glea B. Richer, *History of the Nafzger Family in America* (South Whitley, Indiana, 1939. 176 p.); Albert Rathbone, *Josiah Olcott and Deborah Worth, His Wife* (New York, 1937. 85 p.); Howard P. Moore, *The Patten Families; Genealogies of the Pattens from the North of Ireland* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1939. 194 p.); Albert Rathbone, *Captain Daniel Pepoon and Levina Phelps, His First Wife; Elizabeth James, His Second Wife* (1940. 124 p.); Albert Rathbone, *Samuel Rathbone and Lydia Sparhawk, His Wife* (1937. 74 p.); Albert Rathbone, *Colonel William Rice and Wealthy Cottrell, His Wife* (1938. 118 p.); John B. Riggs, *The Riggs Family of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1939. 534 p.); Casper Schenk, *Joseph and Mary Schenk, Their Ancestors and Descendants* (1938. 80 p.); Nora E. Snow, *The Snow-Estes Ancestry* (Hillburn, New York, 1939. 2 vols.); William C. Stillson, *Notes on the Genealogy of the Stilson Family* (Ann Arbor, 1939. 126 p.); Elmer L. Denniston, *Genealogy of the Stukey, Ream, Grove, Clem, and Denniston Fami-*

lies (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1939. 591 p.); Albert Rathbone, *General George Talcott and Angelica Bogart, His Wife* (New York, 1937. 60 p.); Dirk P. De Young, *Ancestry of the Van Schaicks of Manhattan and Elsewhere* (Avenel, New Jersey, 1938. 57 p.); Charles F. Robinson, *Weld Collections* (Ann Arbor, 1938. 267 p.); Guy H. Wells, *The Wells and Allied Families* (Milledgeville, Georgia, 1938. 89 p.); and Ruth W. Dayton, *Samuel Woods and His Family* (Charleston, West Virginia, 1939. 170 p.).

Among local histories recently received are: Sara L. Campbell, *Brooke Township [Ontario] History, 1833-1933* (1936. 171 p.); Federal Writers' Project, *History of Milford, Connecticut, 1639-1939* (1939. 204 p.); Harvey J. Kable, *Mount Morris: Past and Present* (1938. 464 p.); Barbara B. Hubbs, *Pioneer Folks and Places; An Historic Gazetteer of Williamson County, Illinois* (1939. 246 p.); Arthur A. Halbach, *Dyersville, Its History and Its People* (Milwaukee, 1939. 495 p.); Beulah G. Jackman, *Cemetery Inscriptions, North Cutler, Maine* (8 p.); Beulah G. Jackman, *Earliest Records of Machias, Maine (1767-1827)* (Concord, New Hampshire. 50 p.); Oliver J. Stonesifer, *History of Union Bridge* (Union Bridge, Maryland, 1937. 34 p.); Herbert B. Nichols, *Historic New Rochelle* (New Rochelle, 1938. 212 p.); Mary F. Torrance, *The Story of Old Rensselaerville* (New York, 1939. 72 p.); William C. Allen, *Annals of Haywood County, North Carolina* (1935. 628 p.); Preston A. Laury, *Index to the Scotch-Irish of Northampton County* (Easton, Pennsylvania, 1939. 81 p.); Harvey E. Reem, *Historical Sketch of Christ Reformed Church, Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania* (Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, 1933. 49 p.); Victor B. Stanley, *Marion [South Carolina] Churches and Churchmen, 1735-1935* (1938. 109 p.); Anne W. Reddy, *Virginia Marriage Bonds, Richmond City* (Staunton, Virginia, 1939. Vol. 1, 158 p.); and Marshall Wingfield, *Marriage Bonds of Franklin County, Virginia, 1786-1858* (Memphis, Tennessee, 1939. 256 p.). Earlier publications that may be added to this list include a *History of Livingston County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878. 896 p.); I. L. Stuart, *History of Franklin County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1914. 2 vols.); Charles S. Van Tassel, *Story of the Maumee Valley, Toledo and the Sandusky Region* (Chicago, 1929. 4 vols.); and John G. Gregory, *Southeastern Wisconsin: A History of Old Milwaukee County* (Chicago, 1932. 4 vols.).

## NEWS AND COMMENT

THE "HEIGHTENED PUBLIC DEMAND for biographies, for period histories in popular style, for historical novels and plays" — in general the "thirst for history in various forms" that has marked the past two decades — is discussed by Matthew Josephson in an article on "Historians and Mythmakers" in the winter number of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*. The writer believes that "behind the reawakened desire for biography and for historical fiction there may have been the need for renewed contact with the very raw materials of history, those documents from life, knowledge of which may permit one to become his own historian and to enter his own historical judgments." For the writer of history, Mr. Josephson stresses the importance of a "philosophy of history," which he describes as a "compass by which one may navigate the oceans of documents and facts." It is "upon the preliminary assumptions, the concept of history, the scheme of reference which controls the arrangement and the selection of facts and the judgment of their importance" that the writing of history turns. In the work of the most impartial scholars, men who claim "to have constructed their accounts without the shadow either of prejudice of any system of judgment, but solely with an eye to rigorous, 'objective' truth," there is evidence that "by the mere process of selection or condensation which even a generous space may demand, as the omission of a few sentences from a letter, or a paragraph from a public paper, the whole shape of events seems to be altered as if by a powerful unconscious fixation or prejudice." Mr. Josephson reminds his readers that "the whole secular, unmystical, and rational tradition of modern democracy demands respect for truth," and he concludes that "what we need is less myth and more history."

"The American Imprints Inventory, a project to find, describe, and note the location of a copy of every discoverable book and pamphlet printed from the beginning of the press in America through the centennial year of 1876" is the subject of an article by John C. Bond, which appears in the magazine section of the *Christian Science Monitor* for March 23. Under the title "Book Detectives Rewrite American History," he tells how Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie's interest in

typography and the history of printing prompted the Historical Records Survey to undertake this inventory. Incidentally, the writer notes that Minnesota is one of nine states for which lists of early imprints have been completed.

Two "Little Known Fragments of Turner's Writings" are reprinted with an introduction by Fulmer Mood in the "Documents" section of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March. They consist of an article on Wisconsin which Turner prepared for the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, issued in 1888, and a section on the frontier published in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia* of 1894. It will be recalled that Mr. Mood furnished the introduction for Professor Turner's essay on "The Rise and Fall of New France," which was reprinted in *Minnesota History* in December, 1937 (*ante*, 18:381-398).

A chapter entitled "Clio Joins the Colors: Scholars and the Schools" is included in James R. Mock and Cedric Larson's *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919* (Princeton, 1939. 372 p.). It deals with the work of the committee's division of civic and educational co-operation, of which Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, then dean of the graduate school and now president of the University of Minnesota, was the director. Dean Ford's war work is described as "one of the most stupendous jobs in 'popular scholarship' that this country has ever seen," for his division "put out more than 75,000,000 pieces of literature, ranging in character from the simplest four-page leaflet to an elaborate war cyclopedia and numerous heavily annotated works of research." It is noteworthy that many of the publications issued by Dean Ford's division were from the pens of his colleagues in the University of Minnesota.

*Conservation in the United States* is the title of a textbook prepared by A. F. Gustafson, H. Ries, C. H. Guise, and W. J. Hamilton, Jr., all members of the faculty of Cornell University (Ithaca, 1939). Some attention is given to Minnesota's natural resources in chapters relating to soil, forests, fisheries, and game and fur resources. The only mention of iron mining in the state, however, appears to be in the caption of a picture on page 368, which shows an open pit mine at Hibbing.

"The Vanishing Bison" was the subject of a radio program broadcast on February 4 as one of a series entitled "The World is Yours." Each program is based upon an exhibit or a scientific investigation of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. In connection with the present broadcast, an essay on "The American Bison and the Indian" by David I. Bushnell, Jr., was published by the Columbia University Press (16 p.).

"On his desk during latter 1862 Lincoln had the record of a military court sentencing 303 men to be hanged for murder, rape, arson." In these words Carl Sandburg, in his *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*, opens his account of the president's part in the punishment of the Sioux after the Minnesota outbreak of 1862. How "Lincoln studied the record of the trial, and delayed"; how "on December 6 he wrote the names of those to be hanged," putting them down "one by one, in his own handwriting"; how his order was carried out at Mankato on December 26, 1862, — all are told in Mr. Sandburg's resounding prose. He records that "the President had insisted the trial record and reports from General Pope should 'indicate the more guilty and influential of the culprits,' since he felt that "it was not definitely known who had fomented the Minnesota outbreak." A result of the outbreak noted by Mr. Sandburg is the president's suggestion to Congress for a "remodeling of the system and policy of treating Indians."

An Indian story of the Sioux War, as told to Ernest Thompson Seton and retold by him, is included under the title "The Minnesota Affair" in Julia M. Seton's recent volume, *The Pulse of the Pueblo* (Santa Fe, 1939. 249 p.). The uprising under Little Crow, the Sibley expedition, Bishop Whipple's work on behalf of the red men, President Lincoln's pardon of large numbers of Sioux, and the hanging of others at Mankato are mentioned in this narrative.

"As the head of navigation, the source of the Mississippi, and the location of its most beautiful shore line, Minnesota has a great interest in the observance" in 1941 of the four-hundredth anniversary of De Soto's discovery of the great river, reads an editorial in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for January 30. This is the time, the writer believes, for a "rediscovery" not only of the lower reaches of the Mississippi that

the Spaniards found, but of the upper course that was discovered by the French more than a century later.

"The Unfinished Story of the Mississippi" was the subject of an address presented by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen on March 26 as one of a series of lectures for members of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. To illustrate his subject he showed numerous slides reproducing views of the Mississippi as recorded both by photographers and by pioneer artists who traveled on its waters.

Works by some seventy artists of the Mississippi Valley were displayed at the Davenport Municipal Art Gallery in April. Scenes along the river were depicted in many of the canvases and prints assembled for this unusual exhibit.

The activities in Minnesota of the "American Society of Equity" are given considerable attention by Robert H. Bahmer in an article on this organization's origin, growth, and decline, which appears in the January issue of *Agricultural History*. It was in response to an invitation from the Olmsted County Merchants' Association that J. A. Everitt, the Indianapolis editor who served as president of the Equity, went to Rochester in 1904 to preach the "gospel of price fixing and controlled marketing." How the society's influence increased in Minnesota and in other Northwest states in the years that followed is described by Mr. Bahmer. He touches upon the activities of the Equity president in Minnesota, Magnus Johnson, and he tells how the society "helped produce the Nonpartisan League." As one of the "dozens of Equity-inspired farmers' cooperatives" that are still in existence, the author cites the present Farmers' Union Terminal of St. Paul, the "first successful cooperative invasion of the terminal grain markets."

An illustrated article dealing with the interest in the Kensington rune stone of Professor Rodney B. Harvey of the University of Minnesota college of agriculture appears in the *Minneapolis Times-Tribune* for January 18. According to this account, Professor Harvey has made detailed studies of the lake region near Kensington, the Cormorant Lake district, and the chisel marks on the stone itself.

New Ulm, Helvetia, and Minneota are among the Minnesota foreign settlements that figure in Carl Wittke's recent volume, *We Who*

*Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, 1939. 547 p.). The socialistic German colony of New Ulm is included among the "Immigrant Utopias" described by the author. He takes note, also, of Irish, Swiss, Dutch, Czech, Finnish, and primarily, of Scandinavian settlements in Minnesota. He shows how the state became the "glorious new Scandinavia" that Fredrika Bremer foretold, citing the contributions of Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes to its politics, literature, agriculture, and the like. The author records that there are "400 place names of Scandinavian origin on the map of Minnesota"; that "in 1921, 73 of the 86 counties in Minnesota had one or more Swedish officeholders"; and he mentions the activities of such prominent Minnesotans of Scandinavian birth or descent as Hans Mattson, Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., Floyd Olson, John Lind, John A. Johnson, and O. E. Rølvaag. It is noteworthy, also, that in his chapter on the Scandinavians, Professor Wittke has leaned heavily upon the writings of two Minnesotans, Professors Theodore C. Ble-gen and George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota.

In an article on "Peter Akers: Methodist Circuit Rider and Educator (1790-1886)," which appears in the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society for December, T. Walter Johnson fails to mention the fact that his subject went to Red Wing in 1857 to serve as a member of the faculty of Hamline University, and that he remained in Minnesota for eight years. The author seems to be unaware that a collection of Akers family papers is preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society. He deals to a large extent with Akers' services as a Methodist preacher in Illinois and as president of a sectarian college in that state.

Students of social life and domestic conditions in the West will be interested in Jacob A. Swisher's article on "The Evolution of Wash Day," which appears in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. The writer gives special attention to washing machines, revealing that by "1867 washing machines had become a reality and many were being used even in the Middle West." A section of the article reviews the story of the washing machine industry in Iowa, and includes a list of such machines that have been manufactured in the state. To the same issue of the *Journal*, William J. Petersen contributes an article on "Wolves in Iowa."

The "Early History of Hesper," a village in Winneshiek County, Iowa, near the Minnesota border, is reviewed by a former resident, Burr Griswold, in the *Mabel Record* for March 29. By interviewing pioneer settlers, consulting newspaper files, and the like, the author has gathered a mass of information on the beginning of settlement in 1851, the platting of the village, early churches and schools, pioneer merchants and their stores, the library, early doctors, a Fourth of July celebration in 1869, a baseball team of 1888, and various other topics.

A diary kept by Henry Naegele while serving with a Kansas regiment in the Civil War is described by Don Schneider in the *Mankato Free Press* for February 13. Naegele settled at Mantorville and engaged in farming after being discharged from the army. The first entry in the diary was made at Nashville on May 1, 1864. A number of important engagements, including the siege of Atlanta, are covered in the entries.

"The Canadian-American border rolls across a thousand miles of prairie from the last of the lakes to the first of the mountains, hardly more guarded than the Hudson River boundary between New York and New Jersey." Thus writes Jack Alexander in an article entitled "Border without Bayonets," which appears in the *Saturday Evening Post* for January 6. The writer found, when traveling along the northern boundaries of Minnesota and North Dakota, that at "average intervals of forty-five miles there are ports of entry with customs and immigration officers, whose check of travelers is casual. Anywhere between these stations, anyone may cross without surveillance as readily as you may cross the 100th Meridian." A number of border communities, such as Roseau, International Falls, and Fort Frances, where Americans and Canadians mingle as easily as the citizens of neighboring states, are pictured by Mr. Alexander.

In an article on "Doctor Cheadle in Western Canada," which appears in the January number of the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Ross Mitchell draws upon the narratives of two English travelers who crossed Minnesota by stagecoach in the summer of 1862. The present writer passes hastily over the Minnesota experiences of Viscount Milton and Walter B. Cheadle, but he notes that they escaped the Sioux Massacre by only a few weeks. Their trip down the Red River from Georgetown to Winnipeg by canoe and steam-



boat is described. The bulk of the narrative, however, deals with one of the earliest tours from Fort Garry to the Pacific to be made "merely for the sake of adventure."

Various aspects of life in the Canadian Red River settlements from 1818 to 1852 are vividly pictured in a series of letters of "Bishop Provencher, Pioneer," appearing in the weekly magazine section of the *Winnipeg Free Press* from January 6 to February 17. Selections from the letters have been made by Margaret A. MacLeod, who also provides an introductory background for the story they tell. Translations from the original French manuscripts have been made by Henry Caron, and it should be noted that their publication in the *Free Press* marks their first appearance in English. The letters are rich in allusions to individuals and events that were of importance in the American as well as in the Canadian section of the valley. Shortly after his arrival at Red River, for example, Father Joseph N. Provencher "reported that there were 60 children in school at Pembina and 80 attending one held at the buffalo hunt." A few years later he was forced to abandon the Pembina mission because "it was thought to be on American territory and was too near the Sioux." Father Georges A. Belcourt is mentioned frequently, especially in relation to his work on a Chippewa dictionary. "I want to give [Belcourt] as much time as possible to learn the Indian language, a very urgent need," writes Provencher on July 1, 1829, and in December, 1834, he notes that the priest is continuing the work "on his dictionary, which will be useful for the newcomers." This French-Chippewa dictionary, which is now preserved by the archdiocese of St. Boniface, was copied recently on filmstrips for the Minnesota Historical Society (see *ante*, 20:430). Some of the bishop's most interesting comments relate to the importation of cattle. In a report of March 12, 1836, he notes: "Cows were imported from Missouri in 1825, 400 or 500 in number. . . . They are now well multiplied. Sheep were brought from Kentucky in 1833 through a subscription in the colony. Unfortunately, out of more than 1,200 which had left Kentucky, 260 only arrived at Red River, the rest died on the way." He tells also of hens brought "from Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi," and of turkeys, geese, and pigs imported by way of Hudson Bay. Of special interest also is Provencher's description of the severe flood of 1826 and of the subsequent departure of "about 250 souls in Swiss,

Meurons and others who leave the country frightened by this year's accidents."

Mrs. MacLeod makes another contribution to the recorded history of the Red River settlements in a study of "Cuthbert Grant of Grantown," which appears in the *Canadian Historical Review* for March. The writer comes to the defense of the leader of the métis in the massacre of Seven Oaks, giving emphasis to his services in protecting the Red River colony from the Sioux after 1824, to his activities in promoting settlement, and to his services as a pioneer medical practitioner. Grantown, founded in 1824, was, according to Mrs. MacLeod, the "second settlement in Rupertsland, bearing like the first the imprint of one man as its founder," for, she asserts, "Grant was as great a man to his settlers as Lord Selkirk had been to his." The settlement, now known by its parish name of St. François Xavier, by 1853 had grown to a "busy village of nine hundred people" who were "noted as the best cart makers in all Red River" and were famed as warriors.

#### GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

The reconstruction of the Northwest Company stockade and the great hall at Grand Portage, the outlines of which were located in excavations conducted in 1936 and 1937 (see *ante*, 18:456-458), has now been completed. Tourists who visit the North Shore village during the coming summer will be able to view these reminders of the days when Grand Portage was the most important fur-trading center in the Minnesota country. The stockade, much of which was erected in the summer of 1938, measures 362 by 340 feet. Its irregular outline encloses an area of nearly three acres. It is built of pickets, and the method of erection follows that described in contemporary records of fur-trade days. Over the main entrance on the creek side is a gatehouse designed on the basis of archaeological evidence and similar to one used at Fort Langley on the Pacific coast. The main hall within the stockade has been built on the original stone foundation, measuring 95 by 30 feet, which was uncovered in 1937. Working plans for the structure, which is built of upright timbers and rough planks, were drawn up in 1938; it was erected in the winter of 1939-40. This building will house a museum in which will be displayed examples of the early culture of the Grand Portage

Chippewa and objects illustrative of the fur trade that centered in the stockade, including the large collection of materials unearthed in the course of the excavation of the site. Most of the Indian objects for the museum have been made by some of the older residents of the village while employed by the WPA. The natives have thus been given an opportunity to leave for posterity a record of the crafts of their tribe. The restoration as a whole has been a co-operative project, engaging the resources of the WPA, the United States Indian Service, the Minnesota Historical Society, and the Cook County Historical Society.

W. M. B.

Chippewa-Lac qui Parle State Park on the upper Minnesota River near Montevideo is the scene of an archaeological project that is being conducted by the Minnesota division of state parks with the co-operation of the Chippewa County Historical Society. The site of the home of Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, who established a mission at Lac qui Parle in 1835, will be excavated and marked, and the missionary services of Stephen R. Riggs and Alexander Huggins will be commemorated in a similar manner. The site of the home of Joseph Renville, the chief trader at Lac qui Parle, and his and his wife's graves also will be marked. Although the stockade that Renville built around his trading post lies outside the park area, it will be excavated and definitely located. Plans are also under way for restoring the chapel used by the missionaries at Lac qui Parle. Mr. Richard R. Sackett of the Minnesota Historical Records Survey has charge of the work of excavating the Lac qui Parle site.

The most recent volume in the Minnesota Historical Records Survey's *Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota* makes available a list of the records of Nobles County preserved in the courthouse at Worthington (no. 53—273 p.). Twelve pages are devoted to a sketch of the county's history, and forty-five to an account of its "Governmental Organization and Records System." To the *Inventory of Federal Archives in the States*, the Historical Records Survey has added a volume on the department of war in Minnesota (127 p.). It lists a wealth of material preserved at the military post at Fort Snelling, of numerous engineer offices in the state, of army recruiting stations at Duluth and Minneapolis, of reserve officers' training corps in various schools and colleges, and the like. There is also a list of

military records preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society (p. 112-114). The Historical Records Survey has now completed and published inventories of the archives of sixteen counties and of eight federal departments in Minnesota.

Governor Harold E. Stassen is the author of an article on "Democracy in Land o' Lakes," which appears in the magazine section of the *Christian Science Monitor* for March 23. In it, he defines the aims of his administration and describes some of its outstanding accomplishments, such as the labor relations and civil service laws. A pictorial map of Minnesota in full color appears on the cover page of the section above the heading of Governor Stassen's article.

"There has been some confusion as to the date which should be recognized as the true founding date of the University but this indefiniteness was eliminated last October when the Board of Regents adopted a resolution to the effect" that the action of the territorial legislature on February 25, 1851, providing for an institution at or near the Falls of St. Anthony should be regarded as the official beginning of the school. Thus the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* of February 17 is able to announce that the "University Has a Birthday" on February 25. Some interesting information about early activities, the reorganization of 1868, and the opening of classes in 1869 is presented.

Many phases of campus life at the University of Minnesota during the four decades since the *Minnesota Daily* was founded are described in the paper's fortieth anniversary edition, issued on March 1. A file of the *Daily*, which began publication on the campus on May 1, 1900, was used in preparing a review of its history.

A volume of *Annals of the Museum of Natural History, University of Minnesota, 1872-1939*, prepared by Dr. Thomas S. Roberts, director, not only reviews the history of an important campus institution, but marks its removal to a permanent home of its own (1939. 183 p.). In his introduction, Dr. Roberts outlines the story of the museum from 1872, when it was created by an act of the legislature, to 1939. Included in the volume also are a sketch of Mr. James Ford Bell of Minneapolis, whose "generous and continued support has made possible the present museum," a chronology or "Log" of

the museum, and the texts of the "Annual Reports to the President" of the university presented by Dr. Roberts as the director of the museum during two decades. Among the illustrations are portraits of the three men who have served as directors of the museum—Newton H. Winchell, Henry F. Nachtrieb, and Dr. Roberts—and of Mr. Bell, a view of the new museum building, and pictures of some of the groups included among its displays.

"It would seem desirable for the library of a state university to emphasize as part of its collections the literature of the state that supports it," writes John T. Flanagan in an article on "Early American Fiction in the University Library," which appears in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for February 10. "A collection of the literature which uses Minnesota as a locale would prove both interesting and profitable to students," according to Dr. Flanagan, for such works have not only literary, but "historical and sociological interest."

"Minnesota Art" was the subject of a lecture presented by Professor Laurence Schmeckebier of the department of fine arts in the University of Minnesota at the St. Paul Gallery and School of Art on February 29. To illustrate his address, Mr. Schmeckebier showed slides of pictures by such pioneers of art in Minnesota as Peter Rindisbacher, Seth Eastman, and Henry Lewis.

The February number of the *Journal-Lancet* is a "70th Anniversary Issue," in which the history of "Minnesota's Oldest Medical Journal" is reviewed by James Eckman. This periodical, "surviving today in the form of *The Journal-Lancet*," was first issued, according to Mr. Eckman, as the *Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal* in June, 1870. Its editor, Dr. Alexander J. Stone, announced plans for the journal at the second annual meeting of the Minnesota State Medical Society, in St. Paul on February 1, 1870. Both the contents and format of the pioneer journal are described in some detail. The founding in 1881 by Dr. Jay Owens of the *Northwestern Lancet* also is described, for this publication later was edited by Dr. Stone and in 1911 it became known as the *Journal-Lancet*. Mr. Eckman lists a number of other Minnesota medical journals that have appeared and disappeared since 1870. His article includes brief biographical sketches of Dr. Stone and of Dr. William A. Jones, a later editor of

the *Lancet*. Title pages of some early medical publications are reproduced with the article.

The concluding installments of Dr. A. S. Hamilton's "History of Medicine in Hennepin County" appear in the January, February, and March issues of *Minnesota Medicine*, where they form part of an extensive "History of Medicine in Minnesota" (see *ante*, p. 101). Biographical sketches of pioneer doctors, notes on the activities of the Hennepin County Medical Society, information about the Hahnemann Medical Society of Hennepin County, and brief historical accounts of Minneapolis hospitals are presented. The author includes, in the March installment, lists of officers of the Hennepin County Medical Society from 1855 to 1936, of Minneapolis health officers from the organization of the board of health in 1867 to 1936, and of coroners of Hennepin County from 1869 to the present.

Visits in 1882 to the Minnesota Catholic colonies of Adrian and Avoca by a priest from Kentucky, the Reverend Thomas J. Jenkins, are recorded in the "Collectanea" section of *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* for January. The note is based on Father Jenkins' book, *Six Seasons on Our Prairies*, published in 1884. It may be noted that the Minnesota Historical Society has a copy of this little-known account of travel in the Middle West.

A detailed history of the Church of St. Matthew of St. Paul, which was established in 1886 to serve the large Catholic settlement in the West Side district of the city, appears in the *Wanderer* for February 1. The early history of Redwood Falls, the beginnings of Catholic settlement there in 1870, and the organization of a parish are described in the issue of the same paper for February 22. Historical sketches of "Six Catholic Parishes in Winona," including St. Thomas' Pro-Cathedral, appear in the *Wanderer* for March 21.

A colorful narrative of pioneer life, including vivid accounts of a covered-wagon journey from Wisconsin to Minnesota, of frontier homes and their furnishings, of pioneer harvesting methods, of a prairie fire, of wild life on the prairie, and the like, has been appearing in installments in the *Sleepy Eye Herald-Dispatch* since January 11. The author, LeRoy G. Davis, a pioneer of 1866, draws upon his own recollections for most of his material. Of unusual interest

is his description of the Davis family's trip by covered wagon from Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, to the Minnesota Valley, published in the *Herald-Dispatch* for February 1. "There were three covered wagons in the train at the start, two horse teams and one mule team," writes Mr. Davis. The journey of three weeks that followed must have presented difficulties aplenty for the adults, for the trail westward sometimes led over rough corduroy roads and sometimes over mere wagon tracks. One stream was crossed on a covered bridge, but the crossing of the Mississippi at La Crosse was made by ferry. Despite all obstacles, Mr. Davis recalls that for the children in the party the journey was one "long picnic," with meals eaten in the open and nights spent in or under the wagons. Members of the Davis family spent their first Minnesota winter in Mankato, but in the spring and summer of 1867 they settled on a prairie claim near Sleepy Eye. There they made their home in a shack that was "only a one-room affair with a small, low loft, sides and double roof, boarded up, boards upright, and battened, unfinished inside." For protection against the fierce winter winds the walls and roof were covered on the outside with slabs of prairie sod. It will be recalled that two chapters from Mr. Davis' reminiscences, dealing with "Frontier Words and Phrases" and "Frontier Home Remedies and Sanitation" were published in this magazine in 1938 (*ante*, 19:241-246, 369-376).

Two Minnesota pioneer homes, the Faribault House at Mendota and the Octagonal House at Afton, are briefly described in the *North-west Architect* for January-February. Included are photographs of both houses, front and side elevations and plans of door casings and other details for the Faribault House, and the first floor plan of the Octagonal House.

The beginning of the lumber industry in Minnesota is traced back to the building of a government sawmill at the Falls of St. Anthony in 1822 in an outline of the "History of Minnesota's Great Logging Industry," by Fred Bessette, appearing in the *Daily Journal* of International Falls for March 15. Lumbering activities at Marine and other places on the St. Croix in the years that followed 1839 also are touched upon. Mr. Bessette notes that lumbering in the Lake Superior region began about 1855, and that mills were established at

Oneota, Cloquet, Virginia, and other places. The author describes some of the changes in logging methods that the Minnesota forests have witnessed, and presents figures to illustrate the extent of the industry at various periods.

The "Woodland Caribou in Minnesota," its past and its future, is discussed by William T. Cox in *Soil Conservation*, a publication of the United States department of agriculture, for December. The writer relates that this big game animal was originally found in Maine and Minnesota, that it disappeared from Maine over twenty years ago, and that until recently "only three of the native animals remained in Minnesota." The importation into Minnesota of ten caribou from Saskatchewan and the expedition into the Canadian wilds that resulted in their capture are described by Mr. Cox. The same expedition is the subject of an article by its leader, J. Manweiler, which appears in the March issue of the *Beaver*.

A section on "Agricultural History and Statistics" is included in a *Soil Survey (Reconnaissance): The Red River Valley Area, Minnesota*, prepared by C. C. Nikiforoff and others and issued by the bureau of chemistry and soils of the United States department of agriculture (Series 1933, number 25, 1939. 98 p.). In this narrative the beginnings of agriculture in the Red River Valley are traced back to the Selkirk colony of the Winnipeg area. The Minnesota counties covered by the survey are Kittson, Marshall, Red Lake, Polk, Norman, Clay, Wilkin, and Traverse. Kanabec County is the subject of a pamphlet by P. R. McMiller and others, issued as number 27 of the same series (1939).

The beginning and the progress of a Minnesota agricultural organization are reviewed in a pamphlet entitled *Twenty Years with the Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation* (40 p.). The opening section deals with the organization of the bureau and its affiliation with the American Farm Bureau Federation in the summer of 1920. This is followed by a chronological list of the "accomplishments of the Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation, 1920-1940." Some of the organization's special activities are described in later sections.

A manuscript narrative of experiences in the Sioux War of 1862, now preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society, is quoted exten-



sively in an article by Walton Streightiff appearing in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 17. It presents the recollections of Mrs. Sarah Ann Purnell Montgomery, who witnessed many events of the massacre as a girl of fifteen and who shortly before her death recorded her recollections of those events in a manuscript entitled "My Childhood Days among the Indians in Minnesota." The writer's father settled at South Bend shortly before the uprising, but that event caused him to remove to Wisconsin.

#### LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Although the museum of the Olmsted County Historical Society at Rochester was formally opened to the public as recently as February 10 of the present year, it bears the aspect of a long-established and flourishing institution. Its collections are attractively displayed in a large room in the basement of the Rochester Public Library building, completed last year. Although this society has only recently found suitable quarters, it has been assembling material for years. Since its organization in 1926, its president, Mr. Burt W. Eaton, has been collecting museum material and storing it in his office. More recently, the Rochester Business and Professional Women's Club assembled more than six hundred objects for the society. Its secretary, Mrs. Bunn T. Willson, has done much of the work of installing the collections in their present location.

It is Mrs. Willson's boast that the museum at Rochester was "literally financed without money." The five large wall cases in which costumes, dress accessories, military objects, and many other items are displayed were constructed by WPA labor from used glass doors and posts from cases presented by Mr. Earl A. Vine. Five or six other less pretentious cases used for exhibit purposes also were received as gifts. Among the larger objects in the collection are a square piano of rosewood from the Tattersall House at High Forest and a handsome mahogany buffet. A rope bed, a chest of drawers, several sewing machines, and a rocking chair upholstered in needle point, all dating from the 1850's, are among the objects illustrative of pioneer domestic life. An interesting miniature group, showing an "Old Ladies' Quilting Party" in a log cabin, was made about 1877 for display at the local Congregational church. Numerous tools and agricultural implements of pioneer design also are included in the collection.

Every article displayed is accompanied by a descriptive label, which dates it and gives the name of the donor.

The society has a notable collection of Rochester newspapers, covering a span of years from 1859 to 1912. Included are the *City News* from 1859 to 1861, the *Post* from 1859 to 1912, and the *Olmsted County Democrat* from 1866 to 1912. The collection was originally built up by Charles C. Willson, a pioneer Rochester lawyer. The fact that the news items in these files have been indexed by workers engaged in a WPA project indicates that the community as well as the society appreciates the value of this collection. As many as four workers were engaged in this work when the indexing was in progress; at present two workers are consolidating the entries. It is believed that the index, when completed, will save much wear and tear on precious files.

Among the pictures displayed in the museum is a copy of Audubon's portrait of Nathaniel Rochester, founder of the city in New York for which the Minnesota Rochester was named. Another portrait is that of George Head, who suggested the name for the Olmsted County city. David Olmsted, for whom the county is named, also is represented by a portrait. Interesting lithographs of Rochester, showing the city in 1868 and 1874, are on display. An unusual photograph shows a train of covered wagons drawn by oxen on a Rochester street in 1858.

A beginning has been made toward a manuscript collection, which is now being arranged and catalogued. A few of the more spectacular items are on display. This collection seems to be particularly rich in business records. It includes, for example, account books kept by E. D. Buck for his store at High Forest in 1873-74, by D. J. Bascomb for his shop at Oronoco from 1871 to 1880, and by W. W. Ireland for a book store in Rochester from 1892 to 1895; personal and agricultural accounts kept by Henry Bear of Eyota from 1848 to 1875; the day book of a grist mill at Oronoco in 1856; and records of early hotels at Chatfield and Pleasant Grove.

The historical society is preserving the records of several local organizations—a literary society of the 1860's, fraternal lodges of Rochester and Pleasant Grove, the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Stewartville, and the Rochester Commercial Club. Among the official records in the collection are the election returns of Kalmar

Township for 1857, the justices' dockets of High Forest for the years from 1873 to 1907, and records of a number of rural school districts for various periods between 1869 and 1933. Mention might be made also of a Civil War diary and a collection of Spanish-American War papers.

During the three months that followed the opening of the Olmsted County museum, about thirteen hundred people who registered viewed its exhibits. For the opening day, February 10, the register shows 377 names. Most of those who saw the museum on that day were local residents; since that time, however, about eighty-five per cent of its visitors have come from outside the county or the state. It is therefore evident that a large number of the transients who seek medical aid in Rochester are finding their way to this historical museum. Five states, Canada, and five Minnesota communities were represented on the register for a day picked at random. Miss Leola Amos is in charge of the museum, which is open every day except Sundays and holidays from 10:00 A. M. to 4:00 P. M. B. L. H.

"The Settlement of Winnipeg and Its Influence on Minnesota History" was the subject of an address presented by Frank Long on January 2 before a meeting of the Becker County Historical Society at Detroit Lakes. He gave special attention to the trade between the Canadian settlement and St. Paul over the Red River trails.

Dr. Arthur J. Larsen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Blue Earth County Historical Society, which was held at Mankato on March 11. Other recent meetings of this society were held at Mapleton on January 31 and at Lake Crystal on February 27. At the earlier meeting, which was sponsored by the Mapleton Woman's Study Club, Mr. E. Raymond Hughes of Mankato read a paper on "Steamboating on the Minnesota River." It is published in full in the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* of Mapleton for February 1.

"Fred Johnson's Hobby Builds Museum That Becomes Treasure of New Ulm" is the title of an article by Vivian Thorp appearing in the *Minneapolis Times-Tribune* for February 26. As one of a series of articles dealing with "interesting Minnesotans" and their contributions to their state and their communities, it gives a place in this category to the president of the Brown County Historical Society.

Emphasis is placed upon Mr. Johnson's notable collection of portraits and autographs, which forms the nucleus of the society's museum collection, and to the handsome building in which, through his efforts, it is housed.

A tour through the Walker Art Center of Minneapolis and an address on its history by its director, Mr. D. D. Defenbacher, were features of a meeting of the Hennepin County Historical Society held on February 27. About a hundred and fifty people attended a dinner meeting of the society at Hopkins on March 26. On this occasion Mr. Archie Miller spoke on pioneer life in Hopkins and recalled that members of his own family settled there in 1852, and Mr. Robert Mayo presented an address on the "Early Life of the Pond Brothers," pioneer missionaries to the Sioux. Plans for future meetings of this unusually active society, at Robbinsdale, St. Louis Park, and Bloomington, have been announced. The museum collection of this organization continues to grow, and the need for a fireproof building in which to house it is becoming more and more evident. A special display of museum objects, arranged in a store window in connection with the Hopkins meeting, proved to be a popular attraction. An illustrated article on the society's museum appears in the *Minneapolis Times-Tribune* for March 15.

The development of good roads in Minnesota from the days of the bicycle to the modern automobile era was traced by Dr. Arthur J. Larsen before a meeting of the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society at Lake City on February 13. Mr. Emil Bohmbach read a paper on Colonel Jephth Garrard's pioneer experiments with flying machines at Frontenac. Plans were discussed for the society's museum, which has been opened in the Lake City library since the meeting. It is open to visitors two evenings each week.

Appeals for additions to the collection of the Hutchinson Historical Society and notes on recent accessions, signed by Sophie P. White, secretary of the society, have been appearing in the *Hutchinson Leader* and the *Hutchinson Banner*. She calls upon residents of McLeod County to go through "those old trunks in the attic, those boxes in the basement, those barrels and bundles in the garage" with a view to locating objects that will illustrate life in the vicinity.

The need for a historical museum in Nicollet County was stressed at the annual banquet of the Nicollet County Historical Society, which was held at St. Peter on January 11. More than a hundred people were present to hear addresses and talks by Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, Judge Harry Johnson of Mankato, and Dr. E. C. Carlton of St. Peter. Mr. Babcock described the buildings and rooms in which other counties have housed historical museums, and he urged the people of Nicollet County to preserve the records of their past in adequate quarters. Mr. Henry N. Benson, president of the local society, announced that a room in the basement of a bank had been made available for storing museum objects until appropriate exhibit rooms could be found. The complete text of Mr. Babcock's address appears in the *St. Peter Herald* for January 19.

Objects from the collections of the Nobles County Historical Society have been recently placed on display in a showcase in the courthouse at Worthington. An appeal for appropriate museum objects for the society and a description of some recent accessions appear in the *Worthington Daily Globe* for January 9.

More than five hundred people were attracted to the museum of the Olmsted County Historical Society by the open house and impressive programs that marked its opening on February 10. The museum, which is described *ante*, p. 213, was open to the public both in the afternoon and the evening, and both occasions were marked by programs of addresses and music. Among the speakers were Mr. Burt W. Eaton, president of the society, who reviewed its history since its organization in 1926 and described the years of effort that have culminated in the present museum; Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, who spoke on "Community Memory"; Mrs. Bunn T. Willson, whose activities in collecting and cataloguing material for the museum have done much to make it a reality; and Mrs. J. E. Benedict of Stewartville, who presented a reminiscent talk on pioneer life in southern Minnesota, with some account of the experiences of her grandparents in the Sioux War of 1862.

A hand bell used by a local missionary, C. W. Wilcox, who organized and conducted Sunday schools in various parts of Otter Tail

County, is a recent acquisition of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, according to the notes by its secretary, E. T. Barnard, appearing in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for February 6. The society hopes also to acquire a bell used in Fergus Falls since 1881 as a fire and a school bell.

The construction of a historical museum on the grounds of the Pipestone National Indian Shrine is being urged by the Pipestone County Historical Society, under the leadership of its president, Mr. H. A. Petschow. The society also is conducting a membership campaign, and has called upon its township representatives to enroll members in their districts.

The histories of "Two Early Grist Mills in Pope County" are outlined in an article prepared by the Pope County Historical Society and published in the *Glenwood Herald* for February 1. The mills, which were located at Lake Amelia and Marloué, were built about 1875. Early flour milling at Glenwood is the subject of a sketch appearing in the *Herald* for January 25, and the mill established at Terrace in the early 1870's is described in the issue for March 7.

A recent addition to the list of county historical societies in Minnesota is that organized in Renville County on January 26. A meeting held at Olivia resulted in the naming of J. R. Landy of Olivia as president and S. B. Determan of Morton as secretary-treasurer. Plans were made to assemble museum objects and display them in the courthouse at Olivia. A committee appointed to draw up bylaws and articles of incorporation reported at later meetings held on February 10 and March 23. On the latter occasion, Mr. Victor Lawson of Willmar, who has long been a member of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society and has been closely identified with local historical activity in Kandiyohi County, explained the possibilities of a local society to a large and enthusiastic audience.

Bronze plaques that the Waseca County Historical Society plans to place on the sites of the home of Asa G. Sutlief, a pioneer of 1854, and the building in Wilton where the first county records were kept were placed on display at a meeting of the society in Waseca on January 8. Mr. H. A. Panzram, president, and other officers of the society were re-elected at this meeting.

The work and aims of the Watonwan County Historical Society were described by its president, Mr. George S. Hage of Madelia, in a talk given before members of the St. James Rotary Club meeting on March 19. Mr. Hage called attention to a picturesque windmill that was operated as a grist mill in Odin Township from 1877 to 1905, and asked the co-operation of the Rotary Club in removing it to St. James for permanent preservation.

At a meeting of the Wilkin County Historical Society at Breckenridge on January 5, plans were discussed for a community building which would house not only the society's museum, but the public library, county war veterans' organizations, and an auditorium.

#### LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

An early Becker County rural school, erected in Lake Park Township about 1873, is recalled by Miss Nellie Childs, who taught in the crude structure in 1877 and 1878, in an interview reported in the *Detroit Lakes Tribune* for January 25. "Log benches, a homemade pine table and a small blackboard were the building's justification for being called a schoolhouse," according to Miss Childs. Pictures of the log schoolhouse of the seventies, which is still standing, and of the present district school accompany the article.

Under the heading "We Are Learning to Know Our Community," in the *Minnesota Journal of Education* for February, Clarice Haukebo tells of an interesting local history project that she conducted in a Clay County district school. After reading the recollections of a local pioneer, Ola Thortvedt, her pupils interviewed living pioneers and their descendants, visited a pioneer cabin containing furniture and equipment used by early settlers, collected furniture and utensils illustrative of pioneer life, built the scenery for a pioneer cabin, and wrote and produced a play of pioneer life in Clay County. For six weeks all English, art, and social studies for at least three grades centered about this community study. The play was presented as the closing program of the year at the Gunderson School. With Miss Haukebo's account appear pictures of some of the scenes that her pupils studied and of the activities in which they engaged.

"The Oldest Settlement in Cottonwood County" is the somewhat misleading title of a narrative by H. O. Hendrikson of Portland,

Oregon, which has been appearing in installments in the *Cottonwood County Citizen* of Windom since January 31. Actually, this is an account of the early history of the county, with records of Indian tribes that have occupied its area, exploration of the region, early settlement, the organization of the county, the origin of its name, participation in the Sioux War, the census of 1857, and the like. The careers of fur traders, such as Henry H. Sibley and James W. Lynd, are described in the installment appearing on March 6; the activities of the Dakota Land Company of 1856 are reviewed in the issue of March 13; some information on settlement published on March 20 is drawn from records preserved in the general land office in Washington. It is interesting to note that the author, a former resident of Minnesota, draws upon such sources as contemporary newspapers, letters, and reminiscences of pioneers.

In the *Mountain Lake Observer* for February 15, Mrs. B. N. Hiebert calls attention to the passing of a decade since the Mountain Lake Public Library was established as a project of the Tuesday Study Club. She tells of the organization of the club in 1926, of the fifty books ordered in 1930 that formed a nucleus for the public library, and of its later progress and growth.

The minutes of the village and city councils of Brainerd have been drawn upon for a series of articles dealing with the "Birth of Brainerd's City Government," the first of which appears in the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* for February 17. Among the subjects covered are the organization of the first city council on January 11, 1873; the activities of the first mayor, Eber H. Bly, and the aldermen who served with him; the hook and ladder company which served as a fire department in the seventies; and the transformation from a city to a town government in 1876.

Under the heading "Fillmore Ghost Towns Were Once Vital Pioneer Centers," historical accounts of the interesting communities of Carimona and Forestville appear in the *Spring Valley Tribune* for January 11. Carimona is described as the first county seat and an important stagecoach station; Forestville is distinguished as the site of a general store opened in 1853 by Felix Meighen. The store, which is still standing, is described in some detail, and an account of the activities of members of the Meighen family in the locality is presented.



The arrival in Albert Lea in 1869 of Charles R. Ransom and the growth of the grocery concern that he established there are described in an article on the "Story of the Ransom Families" which appears in the *Evening Tribune* of Albert Lea for March 13. By 1890, according to this account, the Ransom Brothers Company had become exclusively a wholesale grocery business. Photographs of the staff of the latter concern and of the building in which it was operated accompany the article.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Woman's Club of Mound is marked, in the *Minnetonka Pilot* of March 21, by the publication of a chronological review of its activities and accomplishments since its organization in 1915. In the same issue is a brief outline of the history of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs.

An elaborately illustrated edition of the *Chimes*, a publication of the Salem English Lutheran Church of Minneapolis, commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the church (1939). The stories of its organization, of the building of the first church in 1889, and of the beginnings of the Sunday school and the Ladies' Aid Society are reviewed in some detail. Accounts of the services of various pastors are included. Special attention is given to the career of the Reverend George H. Trabert, who served the congregation from 1897 to 1920.

The eighty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the *Hokah Chief* is the occasion for the publication of a review of its history by its editor, H. E. Wheaton, in the issue for March 21. He relates that the paper was established as the *Minnesota Leader* in the spring of 1855, when Charles Reynolds took a printing outfit to Hokah on the invitation of Edward and Clark W. Thompson. Among later publishers whose activities are described are Hiram Ostrander, who gave the paper its present name, Henry L. Hohl, and Wesley S. Moe.

Many phases of the history of the schools of Willmar are touched upon in articles appearing in the *Willmar Daily Tribune* for January 22. Included are accounts of the pioneer period, from 1871 to 1878; of the growth and development of the system from 1878 to the present; of the first teacher, Miss Alma Willey; and of the first graduate, Mattie A. Brown, who received her diploma in 1882. Lists of mem-

bers of the board of education from 1904 to 1939, of superintendents and teachers, and graduates from 1882 to 1905 also appear in the issue. The history of the Willmar post office, which was established in 1869 when the railroad reached the community, is outlined in the *Tribune* for March 20.

Einar Hoidale is the author of a number of interesting articles dealing with pioneer life in Lac qui Parle County, which have been appearing in recent issues of the *Dawson Sentinel*. The first, in the issue of February 9, tells of the emigration from Norway of the Hoidale family, of their arrival in Lac qui Parle County in 1879, of the homestead near Dawson with its crude frontier cabin, and of living conditions in the early eighties. The building of the railroad in 1884 and the resulting mushroom growth of Dawson are described in a second article, published on March 15. In the third article, appearing on March 29, Mr. Hoidale names many of the early residents of Dawson.

The beginnings of settlement in Le Sueur County are reviewed by C. A. Rasmusson in the *Le Sueur News-Herald* for January 24. He describes the founding of the rival villages that eventually combined to form the city of Le Sueur, tells of early hotels and other local enterprises, and lists other communities that have developed in the county.

How the city of Fairmont acquired its parks is explained in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for February 28. The record begins with the year 1894, when Sylvania Park was purchased by the city. Later purchases of land and gifts to the city for park purposes also are listed. A "certificate of exemption" issued to John H. Johnson of Nevada in Martin County in 1864 after he had been drafted for Civil War service is the subject of an article in the *Sentinel* for March 30. The certificate, dated at Rochester and signed by Dr. William W. Mayo, was found among the papers of the late Lovisa Johnson.

Accounts of many incidents of pioneer life in Mower County and Austin are woven into a narrative by Mrs. A. G. Thompson which appears in installments in the *Austin Daily Herald* for January 20, February 3 and 17, and March 12, 16, and 30. It revolves about the story of the "oldest building in Austin," the old Headquarters Building, which was erected eighty-four years ago and was originally

used for town meetings, social gatherings, church services, concerts, and the like. Among the events described by Mrs. Thompson are the fight between Austin and Frankford for the county seat, the county's participation in the Civil and Sioux wars, and the incorporation of Austin.

"Interesting Bits of Local History" that are revealed in old programs, menus, tickets, letter heads, bill heads, and the like are set forth in an article appearing in the *St. Peter Herald* for March 1. It seems to be based upon an interesting collection of early Nicollet County printed items, though unfortunately no mention is made of its location. Some reminiscences of Mrs. Regina Pettijohn, who served as a printer's devil in a St. Peter newspaper office half a century ago, are published in the *Herald* for February 28.

The January issue of the *Redeemer Record* commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer of St. Paul, by which it is published. The number includes a history of the church, accounts of the services of pastors, and pictures of the buildings that it has occupied since 1890.

An account of the early settlement and organization of Red Lake County, written by Charles E. Boughton, Sr., in 1901, appears in the *Red Lake Falls Gazette* for February 29. Since the history of this county has not been the subject of a published volume, the present article, written only five years after the organization of the county, has interest and value for all who seek information about northwestern Minnesota.

The earliest settlement of Sacred Heart Township by a group of Scandinavians from Rushford in southern Minnesota is described by O. O. Enestvedt in the *Sacred Heart News* for January 11. He tells of the journey in covered wagons to the new lands on the Minnesota River in 1866, giving special attention to the family of Thor Helgeson. Mr. Enestvedt records that a daughter of this pioneer, Mrs. Emil Johnson, still lives on the farm where her father settled.

The story of the Masonic Order in Minnesota is sketched as a background for a detailed history of the *Ionic Lodge No. 186, A. F. & A. M. of Duluth*, by Stanley L. Mack, issued to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary (Duluth, 1940. 208 p.). A general account of

Masonic organization in Minnesota is followed by reviews of activities in Duluth for each year from 1889 to 1939. Included in the volume also are biographical sketches of the thirty charter members of the Ionic Lodge, of its past masters and present officers, and a "World War Honor Roll."

Records of the "First and Last Homesteads in Swift County," for which applications were filed on May 23, 1865, and June 11, 1901, are presented in a brief article by C. Stewart Peterson which appears in the *Swift County Monitor* of Benson for February 2. These homestead applications were located by the writer in the general land office of the department of the interior in Washington.

Four charter members of the Arlington Club of Winona participated in a celebration marking its fiftieth anniversary on February 26. The club was organized with fourteen members in 1890. The history of this businessmen's social organization is reviewed in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for February 24.

